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MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D.

SECOND EDITION.

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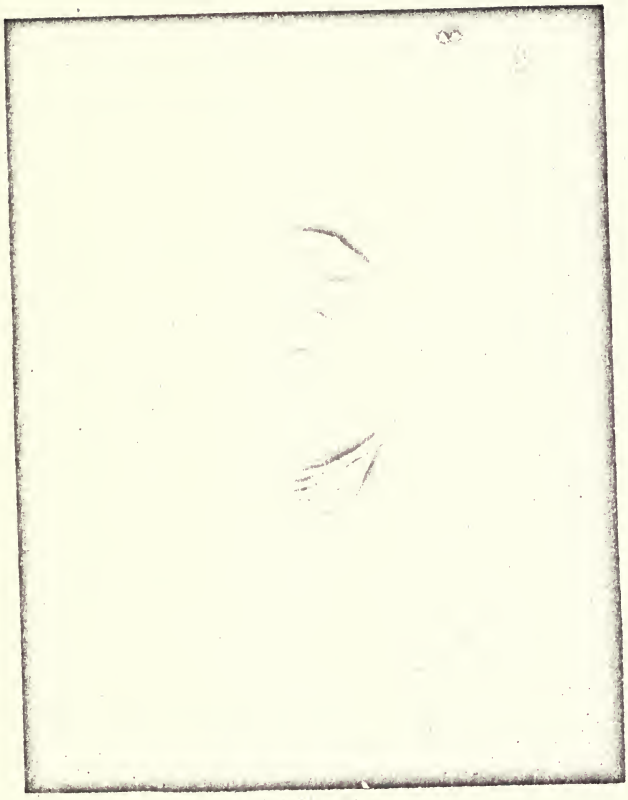

Samuel Hopkins

MEMOIR

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PREFACE TO THE MEMOIR.

A RECENT number (CXI.) of the Westminster Review contains the following remark: "A fault of the Americans, to which we fear they are becoming more and more addicted, is a certain tendency to decry the abilities and virtues of their most distinguished historical characters." The justness of this remark, is apparent in the disposition of some American authors to depreciate the merits of Samuel Hopkins. The ensuing Memoir is by no means a full vindication of this distinguished "historical" personage. An adequate account of his life and labors would fill a large volume. The materials for such a volume are still extant. A selection from them is now given to the public. This selection is sufficient to prove the strength and the piety of Hopkins, as well as his great influence upon the American churches.

In publishing his Journal, Letters, and other manuscripts, no attempt has been made to correct their faulty style; but they are printed, in the main, as they were originally written. In some few instances, where his words were illegible, or very obscure, the biographer has inserted, *within brackets*, the terms or phrases which seemed to express the idea intended in the original manuscript.

For many of the facts stated in the ensuing pages, the biographer is indebted to surviving parishioners or personal friends of Dr. Hopkins, and to several literary gentlemen who have interested themselves in antiquarian researches. He owes especial thanks to Hon. William R. Staples and John Kingsbury, Esq., of Providence, R. I., Walter Channing, M. D., of Boston, Mass., Professor James L. Kingsley, of New Haven, Conn., Rev. William B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany, N. Y., Rev. Brown Emerson, D. D., of Salem, Mass., Rev. Calvin Hitchcock, D. D., of Randolph, Mass., Rev. John Ferguson, of Whately, Mass., and to many others who have rendered him important aid. He has derived much information from the voluminous correspondence of Dr. Hopkins, from two manuscript letters of the late Rev. William E. Channing, D. D., of Boston, Mass., from the Literary Diary of President Stiles, and from the following printed works: "Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congrega-

tional Church in Newport, written by himself; interspersed with marginal notes extracted from his private diary:" with an Introduction by Stephen West, D. D., Pastor of the Church in Stockbridge, Mass.; published in Hartford, Conn., 1805;—"Reminiscences of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I., illustrative of his character and doctrines, with incidental subjects: from an intimacy with him of twenty-one years, while Pastor of a sister Church in said town, by William Patten, D. D." 1843;—"Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., formerly Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island: with an Appendix; by John Ferguson, Pastor of the East Church in Attleborough, Mass;" published in Boston, 1830. The author of the last-named work was, for many years, a member of the church to which Dr. Hopkins had ministered, was an intimate friend of the widow of Dr. Hopkins, and was personally acquainted with many facts illustrative of Hopkins's character. The Memoir which Mr. Ferguson wrote has been very fully indorsed by Rev. Caleb J. Tenney, D. D., of Wethersfield, Conn. In a letter dated December 11, 1843, Dr. Tenney wrote to Mr. Ferguson:

"I have lately reperused, with increased interest, your brief Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I.

"My residence in his family during several of the last months of his life, I recollect, now forty years ago, as a very highly-favored passage in my own life. This acquaintance with one of the best men, and one of the ablest divines, whom I have ever known, and my settlement with the same church and people to whom he ministered, afforded me peculiar opportunity to learn his character and the facts in his history.

"Of many things in your Memoirs, I had personal knowledge, and of most of the other things, I had the most authentic information, and can most unhesitatingly say, that the public may rely upon your Life of Hopkins as prepared with great accuracy and fidelity, and as approaching well to a perfect presentation of the original in actual and real life."

It may be added, that nearly all the more important statements in the ensuing Memoir have been submitted to some of Dr. Hopkins's former friends, and have been inserted in the Memoir with their approval. Several of the manuscripts here published, have not been seen by the biographer, but were copied for him by trustworthy friends.

EDWARDS A. PARK.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
March 16, 1852.

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MEMOIR.

THE biography of a pioneer teaches some useful lessons. If, in despite of all obstacles, he have achieved good results, he stimulates to better deeds men who have better advantages. His life may illustrate the hardy and practical virtues. Failing to gratify the taste, it may invigorate the resolution. Hopkins made his Memoir of Edwards not so much a work "of friendship for the dead as of kindness to the living;" and the present Memoir of Hopkins is "only an attempt to render a life that has been greatly useful yet more so." *

SECT. I. FAMILY AND BIRTH.

The name of Hopkins has been highly honored among the Puritans of New England. Stephen Hopkins came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, a passenger in the Mayflower. Edward Hopkins, governor of Connecticut, and a benefactor of Harvard College, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, with Mr. Davenport, in 1637.

I. *John* Hopkins, (who is *conjectured* by some to have been a relative of the two named above,) the ancestor of the theologian, settled at Cambridge in 1634, was admitted freeman in 1635, and removed to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1636. He died in 1654, leaving a widow, Jane, and two children, Stephen and Bethia.

II. *Stephen* Hopkins, only son of John, married Dorcas Bronson, daughter of John Bronson, of Farmington, and resided at Hartford, Connecticut. He died in 1689, and his widow in 1697. He names in his will six children, viz., *John*, Stephen, (who married Sarah Judd, November 17, 1686,) Ebenezer, Joseph, Dorcas, (who married Jonathan Webster, May 11, 1681,) and Mary Hopkins.

III. *John* Hopkins, [eldest] son of Stephen, of Hartford, settled in Waterbury, Connecticut, where he died November 4, 1732. His wife died May 30, 1730. Their children were John, born March 29,

* Preface to Hopkins's Life of Edwards.

1686; Consider, born November 10, 1687; Stephen, born November 19, 1689; Timothy, born November 16, 1691; Samuel, born December 27, 1693; Mary, born January 27, 1696–7; Hannah, born April 23, 1699; Dorcas, born February 12, 1706. Samuel, the fifth son, became an exemplary minister of the gospel. He was graduated at Yale College in 1718, was ordained at West Springfield in 1720. He died in 1755. In 1753, he published a volume, entitled "Historical Memoirs relating to the Housatunnuk Indians, or an Account of the Methods used and Pains taken for the Propagation of the Gospel among that heathenish Tribe, and the Success thereof, under the Ministry of the late Rev. Mr. John Sergeant; together with the Character of that eminently worthy Missionary; and an Address to the People of this Country, representing the very great Importance of attaching the Indians to their Interest, not only by treating them kindly, but by using proper Endeavors to settle Christianity among them." He was an uncle of the subject of this Memoir, and seems to have had considerable influence in directing the sympathies of his nephew towards our aboriginal tribes. He married a sister of President Edwards; one of his daughters became the wife of John Worthington, LL. D., of Springfield, Massachusetts; and one of his granddaughters became the wife of Fisher Ames. He was the father of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Hadley, Massachusetts, five of whose daughters were married to the five following clergymen: Dr. Emmons, of Franklin; Dr. Spring, of Newburyport; Dr. Austin, of Worcester; Rev. William Riddel, settled first in Bristol, Maine, afterwards in Whitingham, Vermont; and Rev. Leonard Worcester, of Peacham, Vermont. These five divines, all of them clear thinkers, were all firm disciples of the subject of this Memoir, who was the cousin of their father-in-law. Their wives, also, were intelligent theologians of the Hopkinsian school. Few men could cope with them in an argument. (It ought to be mentioned, however, that Mrs. Emmons, although educated by Dr. Hopkins, of Hadley, was his step-daughter only. She was very young when her mother was married to Dr. Hopkins, who succeeded her first husband in the ministry at Hadley. On the other hand, Dr. H. had another own daughter, married to a gentleman who, at the time of his marriage, was prepared and expecting to preach the gospel; but ill health prevented his doing so more than a few times.) Stephen, the third son of John Hopkins, and another uncle of the theologian, was the grandfather of Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, who was a distinguished physician of Litchfield and Hartford, Connecticut, and was associated with Trumbull, Barlow, Alsop, Theodore Dwight, and others, (called the "Hartford wits,") in the Anarchiad, the Echo, Political Greenhouse, the Guillotine, and similar satirical compositions. He was a poet, and is said by President Allen to have written for Barlow the celebrated version of Psalm cxxxvii., "Along the

banks where Babel's current flows," etc. — Hon. Samuel Miles Hopkins, LL. D., of Geneva, New York, was a great-grandson of the same Stephen Hopkins.

IV. *Timothy* Hopkins, the [fourth] son of John, of Waterbury, married Mary Judd, daughter of Deacon Thomas Judd, of Waterbury, June 25, 1719. He died in Waterbury, February 5, 1748–9, aged 57. Their children were *Samuel*, the subject of this Memoir; Timothy, born September 8, 1723, who left two children; Huldah, born December 22, 1725, who married Abijah Richards, and left eight children; Hannah, born April 11, 1728, who married Thomas Upson, and left three children; Sarah, born May 25, 1730, who married Timothy Clark, and left one child; James, born June 26, 1732; Daniel, born October 16, 1734; Mary, born June 27, 1737, who married John Copet, and left one child; Mark, born September 18, 1739.

John Hopkins, the grandfather of the divine, who is called on the town record Lieutenant Hopkins, was often a representative to the legislature, from Waterbury, between 1710 and 1726. Timothy, the father of the divine, was a justice of the peace, and also, from 1727 until his death, was frequently the town's representative. Throughout the last century, the family of Hopkins was one of the most respectable and influential in Waterbury. Dr. Samuel Spring says, that our theologian "descended from worthy parents, of family distinction."* It was the right kind of parents, and they had the right kind of home for training a minister of the gospel. It is well that such a man be nurtured in simplicity of habit, above the insnaring influence of poverty or riches, with healthful occupation, amid the invigorating and pleasing scenes of rural life, where God is adored as the Father of the house.

Of these nine children, our immediate concern is with *Samuel*.

"I was born," he says, "at Waterbury, in Connecticut, on the Lord's day, September 17, 1721. My parents were professors of religion; and I descended from Christian ancestors, both by my father and my mother, as far back as I have been able to trace my descent. I conclude I and my ancestors descended from those called *Puritans*, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, above two hundred years ago, and have continued to bear that denomination since, and were the first settlers of New England. This I have considered to be the most honorable and happy descent, to spring from ancestors who have been professors of religion, without interruption, during the course of two hundred years and more; and many of them, if not all, *real Christians*. And I have considered it as a favor that I was born on the Sabbath, and was perhaps publicly dedicated to Christ by baptism on the day in which I was born; and if not, certainly soon after. — As soon as I was capable of understanding and attending to it, I was told that my father, when he was informed that he had a son born to him, said, if the child should live, he would give him a public education, that he might be a minister or a Sabbath-day man, alluding to my being born on the Sabbath. — I was the first child of my parents that

* Mass. Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 361.

lived. They had one before, which was not alive when born, or died as soon as born. My mother was twenty years old when I was born, and my father thirty." *

Hopkins was only two years and seven months younger than Dr. Bellamy, eighteen years younger than President Edwards, and fifteen years older than Dr. Stephen West, his three most intimate friends.

Sect. II. CHILDHOOD.

Dr. Hopkins continues his Autobiography with remarking:

"I have considered it as a great favor of God that I was born and educated in a religious family, and among a people in a country town, where a regard to religion and morality was common and prevalent, and the education of children and youth was generally practised in such a degree that young people were generally orderly in their behavior, and abstained from those open vices which were then too common in seaport and populous places. I do not recollect that I ever heard a profane word from the children and youth with whom I was conversant, while I lived with my parents, which was till I was in my fifteenth year. — I from my youth was not volatile and wild, but rather of a sober and steady make, and was not guilty of external irregularities, such as disobedience to parents, profanation of the Sabbath, lying, foolish jesting, quarrelling, passion and anger, or rash and profane words, and was disposed to be diligent and faithful in whatever business I was employed; so that, as I advanced in age, I gained the notice, esteem, and respect of the neighborhood. I was, in general, greatly careless about all invisible things, but was often plotting for something which then appeared to me good and great in this life, and often indulged and pleased myself with vain and foolish imaginations of what I should be and do in this world. And sometimes, though rarely, had some serious thoughts of God, and about my soul and a future world of happiness and misery. And I once had a dream of the future judgment, in some measure agreeable to the representation made of it by Christ himself in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew. I dreamed that I and a brother of mine, who was about two years younger than me, were sentenced to everlasting misery, and driven down to hell, with the rest of the wicked. This greatly impressed my mind for a long time after; and the impression then made has not wholly worn off to this day. — As my father was a farmer, I was employed in laboring on the farm, with which business I was pleased, and made proficiency in it. I was frequently told, and often thought of the declaration of my father on the day on which I was born, *that he would bring me up to college*, as the phrase then was for a public education. But I felt no particular inclination to this, but was rather inclined to labor on a farm. But what always turned my mind against going to college, was the years of absence from my parents and their family which were involved in it. Such absence was intolerable to my childish mind, and was sufficient to suppress the thought of going to learning. — But in the winter after I was fourteen years old, I retired much to a chamber in my father's house, and spent considerable time in reading, especially reading the Bible, and began to feel more inclination to learning, and less to working on a farm, as our farming business did not go on so well as it had done, by reason of some particular circumstances which had taken place. When my father perceived this, he told me, if I was inclined to go to learning, he would put me to a place where I might be fitted for the college; to which I readily consented. Accordingly, I was put under the care and tuition of the Rev. John Graham, of Woodbury,

* Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., pp. 23, 24.

which joined west on Waterbury, his meeting-house being about ten miles from my father's house. Here I fitted for college, with a number of others, and was examined and admitted a member of college in September, 1737, being sixteen years old on the seventeenth day of that month." *

Sect. III. COLLEGE LIFE, AND EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

When Mr. Hopkins entered Yale College, it was under the rectorship of Elisha Williams, who, according to President Stiles,† "was a good classical scholar, well versed in logic, metaphysics, and ethics, and in rhetoric and oratory." — "He was a man of splendor!" Professor Kingsley thus describes the course of study pursued in college at this time:

Logic "claimed the principal attention, and skill in syllogistic disputation was the chief object aimed at. Burgersdicius, Ramus, Crackenthorp, and Keckerman were the great lights of the time. The freshmen were employed the first four days of the week on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; beginning logic in the morning, at the latter end of the year, unless the tutors should see cause, by reason of their ripeness in the tongues, to read logic to them sooner."—"Logic was the sole study of the first four days of the week during the second year, physics the third year, and metaphysics and mathematics the fourth year. All resident bachelors were required to dispute syllogistically once a week, and all undergraduates, after they began to read logic, five times a week. Fridays were devoted, in all the classes, to ethics, rhetoric, and the theology of Wollebius. Ames's Medulla was recited on Saturday mornings, and on Saturday evenings the Assembly's Catechism in Latin. Every Sunday morning there was an exercise in Ames's Cases of Conscience. At the beginning of every recitation, a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was read by the class into Greek, and a portion of the New Testament from Latin into Greek, except in the freshman class, where the translation of the New Testament into Greek was from English. Every undergraduate was required to declaim once in two months, and both graduates and undergraduates committed sermons to memory, and pronounced them publicly in the college hall."‡

Hopkins had not been more than two years in college before Rector Williams was succeeded by President Clap, who was eminent in the mathematics, and who gave to this, his favorite study, a more prominent place in the system of college instruction than had been given to it previously. It is easy to see the influence of such a collegiate course upon such a youth as Hopkins. It sharpened his reasoning powers. It cultivated his taste for the abstract sciences. It fitted him to be a metaphysical divine. It did not introduce him into the graces of English style. It did not cherish a love to the *belles-lettres*. It favored originality of thought more than felicity of expression. It tended to make him a "man of one book." We must not undervalue this contracted system of college education. As it had its evils, so it had its advantages. It fastened

* Sketches, etc., pp. 24–27.

† MS. Diary.

‡ Sketch of the History of Yale College, in Connecticut, Quarterly Register, vol. viii. p. 215.

the mind of the thoughtful student upon a few great principles, and obliged him to follow them out patiently and watchfully into their obscurest relations. It familiarized him with the fundamental truths of moral, the most important science, and these truths are like the laws of the universe, as extensive in their application as they are limited in number. It did not make accomplished scholars, but it made profound philosophers. It did not lead so many into various learning as into deep thinking. "That old system," says President Woolsey, "in which dry logic formed the staple, is not to be despised; for by it some of New England's best minds were formed. It is remarkable that nearly all the fathers and choir-leaders of what may technically be called New England theology came from this college. Men like Jonathan Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, West, Smalley, and Emmons, — graduates of the years between 1720 and 1770, — do not proceed from cloistered retirements, where the mind is wholly asleep and afraid to think. And whether we admit their conclusions or not, we must admit that they are close consecutive reasoners, always in earnest, who take broad views of the divine government over the universe, and cover up deep religious emotions under logical forms." — "On the other hand, an effect of the modern system of education, or of society, or of both, is to repress originality of thinking, to destroy individual peculiarities, and to produce a general sameness among those who are educated." *

In his Autobiography, Dr. Hopkins has nearly overlooked his intellectual habits at Yale, and says, in a manner equally honest and unassuming:

"While a member of the college, I believe I had the character of a sober, studious youth, and of a better scholar than the bigger half of the members of that society, and had the approbation of the governors of the college. I avoided the intimacy and the company of the openly vicious, and, indeed, kept but little company, being attentive to my studies." †

This is certainly a modest statement of a man who was distinguished in a class of twenty, among whom were Richard Mansfield, D. D., of Derby, Connecticut; Samuel Buell, D. D., the famous pulpit orator, of Easthampton, Long Island; James Sprout, D. D., of Philadelphia; Noah Wells, D. D., of Stamford, Connecticut; William Livingston, LL. D., governor of New Jersey; Hon. Jabez Huntington, of Norwich, Connecticut. But he was more interested in his religious than his intellectual history; and to that let us now proceed.

"In the eighteenth or nineteenth year of my age," he says, "I cannot now certainly determine which, I made a profession of religion, and joined the church to which my parents belonged, in Waterbury. I was serious, and was thought to be a pious youth, and I had this thought and hope of myself. I was constant in reading the Bible, and in attending on public and secret reli-

* An Historical Discourse, pronounced before the graduates of Yale College, August 14, 1850, by Theodore D. Woolsey, President of Yale College, pp. 63, 64.

† Sketches, etc., p. 27.

gion. And sometimes at night, in my retirement and devotion, when I thought of confessing the sins I had been guilty of that day, and asking pardon, I could not recollect that I had committed one sin that day. Thus ignorant was I of my own heart, and of the spirituality, strictness, and extent of the divine law! In this time I was at home, in a vacancy at college; and several men, who were gross Arminians, entered into a dispute with me about doctrines and religion. I was in theory a Calvinist, and attempted to defend that scheme of doctrines, in opposition to them. In these we could not agree. But when we came to talk of practical religion, and of conversion, I agreed with them, allowing it to consist chiefly in externals, overlooking the real and total depravity of the heart, and the renovation and great change which must take place in that, in order to true conversion and the exercise of real religion, having never experienced any thing of this kind. My mother heard the conversation; and after the company was gone, she told me she was surprised to hear me agree with them in their notion of conversion, and that I should think real conversion was no more than that which I and they had described. This put me upon thinking, and raised a suspicion in my own mind that I was a stranger to real conversion. But it wore off, without any abiding conviction of my deficiency. — From this experience of mine, I have been led to fear, and, in many instances, to conclude persons to be strangers to true conversion, who appear to have the same or no better notion of it than I then had, and talk much as I did on that head, while they profess to believe Calvinistic doctrines, though they choose to be considered as *moderate Calvinists*. There are many of this sort of professing Christians, with whom I have been acquainted.* When persons build upon such a false foundation, and set out in religion, and think themselves Christians, without being *born of God*, and continue strangers to a true and sound conversion, they will be inclined to oppose or slight the most important and excellent exercises of experimental religion, and will be dry and fruitless Christians, and ignorant of true religious affections and enjoyments. And it will be no wonder if they lose all their zeal for the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and grow indifferent about them, if they do not gradually give them up, and renounce them.

"While I was in this state and situation of mind, Mr. Whitefield came into New England, and, after he had preached in Boston and other places, came to New Haven, in his way to New York. The attention of people in general was greatly awakened upon hearing the fame of him, that there was a remarkable preacher from England travelling through the country. The people flocked to hear him, when he came to New Haven. Some travelled twenty miles out of the country to hear him. The assemblies were crowded and remarkably attentive; and people appeared generally to approve, and their conversation turned chiefly about him and his preaching. Some disapproved of several things which he advanced, which occasioned considerable dispute. I heard him when he preached in public, and when he expounded in private in the evening, and highly approved of him, and was somewhat impressed by what he said in public and in private, but did not in the least call in question my own good estate, that I remember. He preached against mixed dancing and frolicking of males and females together; which practice was then very common in New England. This offended some, especially young people. But I remember I justified him in this in my own mind, and in conversation with those who were disposed to condemn him. This was in October, 1740, when I had entered on my last year in college. — During that fall and the succeeding winter, there appeared to be much more attention to religion than before among people in general; and a number of ministers in New England

* And there were many more with whom he afterwards became acquainted. A great part of his life was spent in controversy with "moderate Calvinists," one class of whom he began to oppose thus early. He effected more, perhaps, than any other man, save one, in raising the churches of New England above this "moderate Calvinism." Does he not, therefore, merit the gratitude of all who love a high orthodoxy?

were aroused, and preached oftener than they had done, and appeared much more engaged and zealous than before; and several came to New Haven, and preached in a manner so different from what had been usual, that people in general appeared to be in some measure awakened, and more thoughtful on religious subjects than they had been before. — Early in the next spring, in March, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, who had been itinerating in New England, in Boston and other places in the winter, came to New Haven from Boston, in his way to the southward. He was a remarkably plain and rousing preacher, and a remarkable awakening had been produced by his preaching, and many hopeful conversions had taken place under his preaching, where he had itinerated. On his coming to New Haven, the people appeared to be almost universally aroused, and flocked to hear him. He staid about a week in New Haven, and preached seventeen sermons, most of them in the meeting-house, two or three in the college hall. His preaching appeared to be attended with a remarkable and mighty power. Thousands, I believe, were awakened; and many cried out with distress and horror of mind, under a conviction of God's anger, and their constant exposedness to fall into endless destruction. Many professors of religion received conviction that they were not real Christians, and never were born again; which numbers publicly confessed, and put up notes, without mentioning their names, but their number, desiring prayers for them as unconverted, and under this conviction. The members of college appeared to be universally awakened. A small number thought themselves Christians before they came to college, and I believe were so. Several of these appeared with an extraordinary zeal and concern for the members of college; and, without paying regard to the distinctions of higher and lower classes, they visited every room in college, and discoursed freely and with the greatest plainness with each one; especially such whom they considered to be in an unconverted state, and who acknowledged themselves to be so, setting before them their danger, and exhorting them to repent, &c. The consciences of all seemed to be so far awakened as to lead them to hang their heads, and to pay at least a silent regard to their reprovers. And every person in the college appeared to be under a degree of awakening and conviction. The persons above mentioned, who thus distinguished themselves in zeal, were, two of them, my classmates, Buell and Youngs.* The other was David Brainerd. I attended to the whole, and approved of all they said and did, but retained my hope that I was a Christian, and had little or no conversation with these zealous men. At length Brainerd came into my room, I being there alone. I was not at a loss with respect to his design in making me a visit then, determining that he came to satisfy himself whether I were a Christian or not. And I resolved to keep him in the dark, and, if possible, prevent his getting any knowledge of my state or religion. I was therefore wholly on the reserve, being conscious that I had no religious experiences, or religious affections to tell of. In his conversation with me, he observed that he believed it impossible for a person to be converted, and to be a real Christian, without feeling his heart, at some times at least, sensibly and greatly affected with the character of Christ, and strongly going out after him, or to that purpose. This observation struck conviction into my mind. I verily believed it to be true, and at the same time was conscious that I had never experienced any thing of this kind, and that I was a stranger to the exercise of real Christianity. I then determined that no one should know from me, or any other way, if I could prevent it, that I was not a Christian, until I should be converted; for it was mortifying to my pride to be thought to be no Christian, having made a Christian profession, and having had the character of a

* Buell was at this time about twenty-five years of age, and in less than a year from this time, — in less than five months after his graduation, — he was preaching for Mr. Edwards at Northampton, with wonderful effect. Hopkins was in his twentieth year; yet he seems to have resisted the influence of his older classmate, and to have yielded to the persuasive accents of Brainerd only.

Christian for some time, though I now knew myself not to be one. Brainerd took his leave of me without bringing me to put off my reserve; and what he then thought of me I know not, but believe he strongly suspected, if he did not without hesitation conclude, that I was not a Christian.*

"My conviction fixed upon me. I saw I was indeed no Christian. The evil of my heart, the hardness and unbelief of it, came more and more into view, and the evil case in which I was appeared more and more dreadful. I felt myself a guilty, justly condemned creature, and my hope of relief by obtaining conversion failed more and more, and my condition appeared darker from day to day, and all help failed, and I felt myself to be nothing but ignorance, guilt, and stupidity. I now lost all desire to conceal my case from those whom I considered to be Christians, and freely opened it to some of them. They appeared particularly to interest themselves in my condition, and often conversed with me, and asked me if I had any new views, &c. I constantly told them I was still the same, in an unconverted state, &c. Thus I continued for some weeks, generally retired, unless when I attended private meetings of young people, for prayer, &c., which were frequent then in college, and in the town. — At length, as I was in my closet one evening, while I was meditating, and in my devotions, a new and wonderful scene opened to my view. I had a sense of the being and presence of God as I never had before; it being more of a reality, and more affecting and glorious, than I had ever before perceived. And the character of Jesus Christ, the Mediator, came into view, and appeared such a reality, and so glorious, and the way of salvation by him so wise, important, and desirable, that I was astonished at myself that I had never seen these things before, which were so plain, pleasing, and wonderful. I longed to have all see and know these things as they now appeared to me. I was greatly affected, in the view of my own depravity, the sinfulness, guilt, and odiousness of my character; and tears flowed in great plenty. After some time, I left my closet, and went into the adjoining room, no other person being then there. I walked the room, all intent on these subjects, and took up Watts's version of the Psalms, and opened it at the fifty-first Psalm, and read the first, second, and third parts in long metre, with strong affections, and made it all my own language, and thought it was the language of my heart to God. I dwelt upon it with pleasure, and wept much. And when I had laid the book aside, my mind continued fixed on the subject, and in the exercise of devotion, confession, adoration, petition, &c., in which I seemed to pour out my heart to God with great freedom. I continued all attention to the things of religion, in which most appeared more or less engaged. There were many instances, as was then supposed, of conversion. I felt a peculiar, pleasing affection to those who were supposed to be Christians.

"But two things appear, now, to me remarkable, with respect to my views and exercises which I have just now mentioned. First, I had not then the least thought or suspicion that what I had experienced was conversion, or any thing like it; nor did such a thought enter my mind, so far as I can recollect, till near a year after this; or, if any such thought was suggested at any time, it was immediately rejected. I had formed an idea in my mind of conversion, what persons who were converted must be, and how they must feel, which was so entirely different from that which I had seen and felt, that I was so far from a thought that I was converted, that I thought I *knew* I was not, and made no scruple to tell my friends so from time to time. Secondly, I do not

* It is not to be forgotten that Brainerd was at this time (one year before his expulsion from college) but a *sophomore*, and, in conformity with the collegiate usages of his day, could not expect that Hopkins, being a *senior*, would condescend to much familiarity of personal intercourse with him, although he was more than three years older than Hopkins. Subsequently, however, the two youths became intimate companions; and the fact that Hopkins never ferreted out the opinion which his friend formed of his religious state, in that college revival, is one among many instances of the dignity and abstractedness which marked his conversation with men.

recollect that I said a word to any person living of these exercises, or gave the least hint of them to any one, for almost a year after they took place. I did not think they were worth speaking of, being nothing like conversion. And by degrees I ceased to recollect any thing of them, still hoping and looking for something greater and better, and of quite a different kind.

"When I heard Mr. Tennent, as mentioned above, I thought he was the greatest and best man, and the best preacher, that I had ever seen or heard. His words were to me 'like apples of gold in pictures of silver.' And I then thought that when I should leave the college, as I was then in my last year, I would go and live with him, wherever I should find him.* But just before the commencement, in September, when I was to take my degree, on the seventeenth day of which month I was twenty years old, Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, came to New Haven and preached. He then preached the sermon on *The Trial of the Spirits*, which was afterwards printed. I had before read his sermons on Justification, &c., and his Narrative of the Remarkable Conversions at Northampton, which took place about seven years before this. Though I then did not obtain any personal acquaintance with him, any further than by hearing him preach, yet I conceived such an esteem of him, and was so pleased with his preaching, that I altered my former determination with respect to Mr. Tennent, and concluded to go and live with Mr. Edwards, as soon as I should have opportunity, though he lived about eighty miles from my father's house.

"After I had taken my first degree, which was in September, 1741, I retired to my father's, in Waterbury; and being dejected and very gloomy in my mind, I lived a recluse life for some months. Considering myself as a sinful, lost creature, I spent most of my time in reading, meditation, and prayer, and spent many whole days in fasting and prayer. My attention turned chiefly to my own sinfulness, and as being wholly lost in myself, of which I had an increasing conviction. But I also attended to the state of religion in the vicinity. There was a general and uncommon attention to religion, and much preaching by ministers who went from town to town; but opposition was made to the revival of religion, which now began to increase among ministers and people. Some considered it as an evil work, in the whole of it. Others allowed there was some good attending it, but objected greatly to many things which took place and were practised by the friends and subjects of the work, as imprudent and wrong. I was a strong advocate for the doctrines preached by the ministers who were instruments of promoting the revival, and for the practices of those who were the subjects of it, and were supposed to be converted. It is true, there were some things said and practised which I did not understand and fully see through. But as I considered them as Christians, and myself as not one, and consequently ignorant and incapable of judging, I concluded they must be right. I spent days in fasting and prayer, seeking the promotion of that which to me appeared to be true religion, and the suppression of all opposition to it. I endeavored to promote religion among the young people in the town, and encouraged them who were attentive and concerned to meet together for prayer, and to spend days of fasting and prayer together, especially those who were thought to be converted. When I saw persons whom I considered to be unconverted, I felt disposed to pray for them, that they might be converted and saved, and felt great concern for some individuals of this character.

* How different the opinion of Hopkins from that of Dr. Cutler, who wrote, in 1741, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "I need only mention one [follower of Whitefield] Gilbert Tennent, a teacher living to the southward, who visited us the last winter, and afflicted us more than the most intense cold and snow that was ever known among us, and kept even the most tender people travelling night and day, to hear the most vulgar, crude, and boisterous things from him, to the ruin of the health of many, and the poisoning of more, with unsound divinity," etc. See President Woolsey's Historical Discourse, p. 109.

"In the month of December, being furnished with a horse, &c., I set out for Northampton, with a view to live with Mr. Edwards, where I was an utter stranger. When I arrived there, Mr. Edwards was not at home; but [I] was received with great kindness by Mrs. Edwards and the family, and had encouragement that I might live there during the winter. Mr. Edwards was abroad on a preaching tour, as people in general were greatly attentive to religion and preaching, which was attended with remarkable effects in the conviction and supposed conversion of multitudes. I was very gloomy, and was most of the time retired in my chamber. After some days, Mrs. Edwards came into my chamber, and said, 'As I was now become one of the family for a season, she felt herself interested in my welfare; and [as] she observed that I appeared gloomy and dejected, she hoped I would not think she intruded by desiring to know, and asking me what was the occasion of it,' or to that purpose. I told her the freedom she used was agreeable to me; that the occasion of the appearance which she mentioned was the state in which I considered myself. I was in a Christless, graceless state, and had been under a degree of conviction and concern for myself for a number of months. [I] had got no relief, and my case, instead of growing better, appeared to grow worse. Upon which we entered into a free conversation; and, on the whole, she told me that she had peculiar exercises respecting me, since I had been in the family; that she trusted I should receive light and comfort, and doubted not that God intended yet to do great things by me, &c. This conversation did not sensibly raise my spirits in the least degree. My views of myself were such, and my prospect and hope of any good were so low, that I then paid no sensible regard to what she said.

"Religion was now at a lower ebb at Northampton than it had been of late, and than it appeared to be in the neighboring towns, and in New England in general. In the month of January, Mr. Buell, my classmate, whom I mentioned before, came to Northampton, having commenced a zealous preacher of the gospel,* and was the means of greatly reviving the people to zeal in religion. He preached every day, and sometimes twice a day, publicly, Mr. Edwards being out of town, preaching in distant towns. Professing Christians appeared greatly revived and comforted, and a number were under conviction, and I think there were some hopeful new converts. After Mr. Buell had preached in Northampton a week or two, he set out on a tour towards Boston, to preach in the towns in those parts, and I went with him. People crowded to hear him in every place; and great numbers were awakened, and many were thought to be converted. After continuing with him about two weeks, I returned to Northampton, when my exercises of mind were such that I, *for the first time*, admitted a hope that they were really gracious, and my mind immediately recurred back to the time when I had those views and affections, almost a year before, which have been mentioned; and they appeared to me to be of the same kind with those which now possessed my mind, and [I saw] that the course of exercises which I since had did not differ in kind from the first, and from those which I now had, though I had within this time often said I was certain I had no grace; and never had for a moment, that I can recollect, entertained the least degree of hope, or one thought that I was not in a state of nature. While at Northampton, before this, I conversed with a number of Christians who were thought to be knowing and eminent. I perceived that they thought I was a Christian. But this did not have the least perceivable influence on my mind, so as to excite the least hope that I was a Christian; but [I] thought and felt that I *knew* this was not, and could not, be true.

"I now determined to make known the whole of my exercises to Mr. Edwards, as far as I could communicate them. I told him my present exercises, and those which I have related which took place at college near a year before.

* He was licensed a month only after he was graduated. He came to Northampton on the 27th of January.

When he had heard me, he asked me why I had not told him these things before. I told him it was because I had no thought that such exercises were conversion, or Christian exercises, till very lately. He gave not his opinion expressly; nor did I desire he should, for I was far from relying on any man's judgment in such a case. But I supposed he entertained a hope that I was a Christian." *

Thus we see that this diffident young man first opened his eyes upon spiritual truth among those who were called "New Lights." He drew his earliest religious breath among earnest men, who were panting for the amelioration of the race. He was born, morally as well as intellectually, among the advocates of progress. The circumstances of his spiritual birth affected his entire religious life. Less than a prophet might have divined that a youth in his teens, catching the spirit of Whitefield, Tennent, Brainerd, Buell, and Edwards, would not sleep over abuses because they had been sanctioned by length of years. Such a man, renewed in such a way, feels a long-continued impulse to make men better; to free them from delusion, even if it be old; to enrich them with truth, even if it be new; to struggle forward and onward "for the perfecting of the saints." In the case of Hopkins, history ratifies what might have been the voice of prophecy.

We see also that this modest youth began his Christian life in a revival of religion, which was attended with much fanaticism on the one hand, and with eminent godliness on the other. But amid all the wildfire that burned around him, how considerate and circumspect he remained! While many of his companions ran into extravagances, he was pressing through a severe "law-work," and was laying in solitude the deep foundations of a character which was to rise high in religious worth. Many eminent Calvinists of his day, some of his college instructors, stood aloof from the revival; he was too benevolent to feel less than the deepest interest in it. Some features of it he could not approve; but he was too modest to rely on his own judgment, in opposition to the good men whom he felt to be, in the main, engaged in a good cause. He was not censorious against the enthusiasts, neither was he himself an enthusiast; but his narrative of the revival proves him to have been *then*, what he developed himself to be *afterwards*, an humble Christian philosopher. We have much to hope from such a convert.

Sect. IV. RESIDENCE AT NORTHAMPTON, AND STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

We have already introduced this unassuming young student into the almost patrician family of President Edwards, at Northampton. Nowhere on earth, perhaps, could have been found, at that time, a

* Sketches, etc., pp. 27–43.

more eligible residence for a theological inquirer. Mr. Edwards was in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and at the height of his ministerial usefulness. His wife was in her thirty-second year, and was eminent, not only for her personal elegance, but for the richness and brilliancy of her mind. Their daughter Jerusha, afterwards betrothed to David Brainerd, was at this time in her twelfth year; Esther, afterwards the wife of President Burr, was in her tenth year; and Mary, the mother of President Dwight, was in her eighth year. All of these daughters were beautiful and sprightly. The charms of such an interesting family were the influences which Hopkins needed in his despondent condition. We have just seen Mrs. Edwards entering his room, and striving to impart that spiritual comfort which so accomplished a lady was so well fitted to administer. We catch another glimpse of his religious intercourse with her a few weeks afterward, on Wednesday, January 27, 1742. His classmate Buell had preached a lecture at three o'clock in the afternoon. The audience were deeply moved. Many of them remained three hours in the meeting-house after the public exercises were closed. When Mrs. Edwards returned to her house, she found there several Christian friends, in company with Mr. Buell and Mr. Hopkins. "Seeing and conversing with them," she says, "on the divine goodness, renewed my former feelings, and filled me with an intense desire that we might all arise, and with an active, flowing, and fervent heart, give glory to God. The intenseness of my feelings again took away my bodily strength. The words of one of Dr. Watts's Hosannas powerfully affected me; and, in the course of the conversation, I uttered them as the real language of my heart, with great earnestness and emotion:

'Hosanna to King David's Son,
Who reigns on a superior throne,' etc.

And while I was uttering the words, my mind was so deeply impressed with the love of Christ, and a sense of his immediate presence, that I could with difficulty refrain from rising from my seat and leaping for joy. I continued to enjoy this intense, and lively, and refreshing sense of divine things, accompanied with strong emotions, for nearly an hour; after which I experienced a delightful calm, and peace, and rest in God, until I retired for the night." *

It was with a frequent recurrence of similar interviews that our reverential student prepared himself for the ministry. The influence of them in directing and deepening his theological speculations, cannot be mistaken. He was wont to speak of them in his old age even. There is a striking coincidence between his subsequent views of "disinterested submission," and the feelings which Mrs. Edwards expressed several weeks after he became a member of her family.

* See Dwight's Edwards, vol. i. p. 176.

"I told those who were present," she says, "that I chose to die in the way that was most agreeable to God's will, and that I should be willing to die in darkness and horror, if it was most for the glory of God."*

During the night after this remark, (January 29, 1741,) and through subsequent days and nights, she had a train of reflections which would *now* be termed Hopkinsian, and which may have been the germ of one branch of Hopkinsianism; for they were, doubtless, soon communicated to the inquisitive and solemn youth who sat at her table and listened to her daily conversation.

"I also thought," she writes,† "how God had graciously given me, for a great while, an entire resignation to his will with respect to the kind and manner of death that I should die; having been made willing to die on the rack, or at the stake, or any other tormenting death, and, if it were God's will, to die in darkness; and how I had that day been made very sensible and fully willing, if it was God's pleasure, and for his glory, to die in horror. But now it occurred to me that when I had thus been made willing to live, and to be kept on this dark abode, I used to think of living no longer than to the ordinary age of man. Upon this, I was led to ask myself whether I was not willing to be kept out of heaven even longer; and my whole heart seemed immediately to reply, 'Yes, a thousand years, if it be God's will, and for his honor and glory;' and then my heart, in the language of resignation, went further, and with great alacrity and sweetness, to answer, as it were, over and over again, 'Yes, and live a thousand years in horror, if it be most for the glory of God. Yea, I am willing to live a thousand years [in] an hell upon earth, if it be most for the honor of God.' But then I considered with myself what this would be to live [in] an hell upon earth for so long a time, and I thought of the torment of my body being so great, awful, and overwhelming, that none could bear to live in the country where the spectacle was seen, and of the torment and horror of my mind being vastly greater than the torment of my body; and it seemed to me that I found a perfect willingness, and sweet quietness and alacrity of soul, in consenting that it should be so, if it were most for the glory of God; so that there was no hesitation, doubt, or darkness in my mind, attending the thoughts of it, but my resignation seemed to be clear, like a light that shone through my soul. I continued saying, 'Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus! Glorify thyself in me, in my body and my soul,' with a calm and sweetness of soul which banished all reluctance. The glory of God seemed to overcome me and swallow me up; and every conceivable suffering, and every thing that was terrible to my nature, seemed to shrink to nothing before it. This resignation continued in its clearness and brightness the rest of the night, and all the next day and the night following, and on Monday in the forenoon, without interruption or abatement. All this while, whenever I thought of it, the language of my soul was, with the greatest fulness and alacrity, 'Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus!' In the afternoon of Monday, it was not quite so perceptible and lively; but my mind remained so much in a similar frame, for more than a week, that I could never think of it without an inexpressible sweetness in my soul."

Twenty-two years after this period, Hopkins says of Mrs. Edwards:

"She was eminent for her piety and experimental religion. Religious conversation was much her delight, and this she promoted in all companies, as far as was proper and decent for her; and her discourse showed her under-

* Dwight's Edwards, vol. i. p. 181. † Ib. pp. 182, 183.

standing in divine things, and the great impression they had on her mind. The friends of true religion, and they who were ready to engage in religious conversation, and delighted in that which was most essential and practical in true religion, were her peculiar friends and intimates, to whom she would open her mind freely, and tell them the exercises of her own heart, and what God had done for her soul, for their encouragement and excitement in the ways of God. Her mind appeared, to them who were most conversant with her, constantly to attend to divine things, even on all occasions, and in all business of life." *

We have noticed that in December, 1741, Hopkins came to study at Northampton, while his teacher was absent. On the 25th of January, 1742, Mr. Edwards went to Leicester, and there labored several weeks. "In the latter end of March," Hopkins left Northampton, "with a view to obtain a license to preach." It appears, then, that before he commenced preaching, he remained with his teacher less than four months, and it is known that during this period his teacher was often from home on missionary tours. Hopkins spent the month of April in his still and beautiful native town. At his father's house, within about an hour's ride from the house of Dr. Bellamy, in Bethlem, he writes:

"I have of late entertained a hope that I did experience a saving change above a year ago; and I find myself more and more established in it. The Lord grant that I may not be deceived! I have some thoughts (God willing) of being examined, next week, in order to preach the sweet and everlasting gospel of Jesus, though, many times, my heart shrinks at the thought. I hope the Lord will direct me.—April 29, 1742. This day, I obtained a permit to go forth and preach the gospel: but this is only from men. It hath been my request, and I hope my sincere desire, that I might have a commission from the Lord Jesus Christ, the great Lord of the harvest, and be sent forth by him as a laborer in his vineyard."

"After I had preached," he says in his Autobiography,† "a few times at my native place and places adjacent, occasionally, I returned to Northampton, proposing to spend some time in pursuing my studies with Mr. Edwards, where I lived during the summer, preaching sometimes in Mr. Edwards's pulpit, and to private meetings; and sometimes rode out to neighboring towns, and preached; for which I neither demanded nor received any pay, except forty shillings, old tenor, for preaching one Sabbath at Westfield, which was given without any demand or expectation from me. I also preached in the fall, a number of Sabbaths, at Bethlem, to Mr. Bellamy's people, gratis, while he took a tour as far as Philadelphia, in order to preach, as people in general then had a hearing ear."

After he had spent more than three additional months with Mr. Edwards, in 1742, Hopkins did not regard himself as having completed his theological education; but he says, in his Diary, May 30, 1743, "Rode to-day from Westfield hither, [to Northampton;] — am kindly received by Mr. Edwards and his family. I have thoughts of staying here this summer. I hope God will lead me to what is my duty." He commenced a school in the village, and at the same

* Sketch of Mrs. Edwards's Life and Character, Edinburgh edition, pp. 111, 112.
† Sketches, etc., p. 45.

time prosecuted his studies, but at the end of four weeks was seized with a rheumatic affection, and was compelled to change his residence. Thus he spent a little more than eight months in the bosom of Mr. Edwards's household, and in the enjoyment of his rich instructions. The intimacy which Hopkins then formed with his teacher produced a decided effect upon his entire subsequent life. It enabled him to give a very minute account of Mr. Edwards's private habits. We are indebted to Hopkins for the authentic information which we have concerning the devotional observances, household arrangements, social usages of his beloved instructor.

Sect. V. PRIVATE JOURNAL.

About this time, the young candidate began his Diary. It was obviously designed to be private, for he records many events which he would not wish to let his best friends know. Some of these incidents, for the purpose of secrecy, he narrates in the Latin language. And yet, through the entire Journal, (so far forth as it is now preserved and has been perused by the present biographer,) there is not to be found one disclosure which could in any degree sully the fair name of Hopkins. Even its most secret records are perfectly honorable to his character. It is written with carelessness; it exposes the great divine in his *dishabille*, but is a far nobler monument to his virtue than is his Autobiography. If it had been penned with any design of exposing it to his friends even, its charm and its value would have been lessened; but as it is, it serves as a glass through which is to be seen the heart of its author. Some of its assertions are too condemnatory of himself to be true, but they were thought or felt to be true by him who made them. They are to be received with abatement, as if they had been the words of his enemy; for he did hate and abhor himself, and write bitter things against himself. His Autobiography has been called his Confession, and his private Journal may be called his Self-accusation. It was doubtless a fault to disparage his performances so unremittingly, but it was a failing which "leaned to virtue's side."

Many of the details in the ensuing Memoir are derived from the relics of this Journal. It is much to be regretted, that after November 2, 1756, a large part of his Journal was written in cipher, and, since the death of his widow, has been to *some* extent unintelligible. Those parts of it which were deciphered by her for the Autobiography edited by Dr. West, are the richest portions of the whole.

Sect. VI. EARLIEST EFFORTS IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, AND FEELINGS IN VIEW OF THEM.

The subject of our Memoir was constitutionally inclined to despondency. He looked at the dark side of nearly all objects, at the

darkest side of his own character. In two thirds of the passages of his Diary, where he comments on his own sermons, he speaks of them as "dull," "very dull," or as deserving of some worse epithet. And even when he is willing to confess that he "spoke with some power for a few minutes," and "had a little turn or two" of "freedom," and "was not so insipid as sometimes," he qualifies his confession, and "loses himself in a humble way." Thus he writes:

"Sunday, March 20, 1743. Preached to-day, in the forenoon, from Ps. xxix. 4. Had no great pressing and feeling sense of divine truths, but yet was enabled to speak with freedom. In the afternoon, from Matt. xvi. 26. Had a little sense, for a small minute, of the happiness of those that should forever dwell in the presence of God, and feel the beamings forth of his love. No visible effects of the word this day." — "Wednesday, May 4, 1743. Have had my mind much bent in studying some part of this day, in making a sermon wherein I treat of the Sabbath — of its institution and change, &c. And this evening, through the goodness of God, have had some refreshing discoveries of divine things, longing that the whole world might be brought to the knowledge of God, and that the children of God might live like themselves, and have views of an approaching eternity, and feel the love of God in their souls; that the ministers of Christ might always experience how sweet it is to preach Christ, and offer him to fallen, undone sinners; that unconverted ministers might have their eyes opened. O, how sweet it is to get on Mount Pisgah, and from thence behold the promised land!"

Such were his habits of introspection, and such was his humiliating estimate of himself, that months before his ordination he wrote in his Journal:

"I have for some time been much discouraged about preaching, and feel inclined to leave off, — am filled with doubts about my own good estate."

"Friday, October 12, 1744. Have been trying at turns to study a sermon all this week, but cannot make it out yet. I have been very senseless and stupid to-day, and this evening have been in a strange posture. I know not how to describe it. It is an uneasy stupor. There seems to be a separating wall between God and my soul. I am all in the dark, and cannot speak to him. I am full of doubts whether I know any thing about grace, or have any of it, and have no courage to go on in the work of the ministry. — Monday, October 15. I have been very barren to-day in my conversation. I feel very much in the dark, and doubt whether I am a Christian or no. My heart is excessively hard," etc. — "November 6, 1745. Have had some uncommon fresh thoughts of death this evening. I fear I am unprepared. My sins stare me in the face. I have wofully departed from God, and fear I have not one spark of true grace, and yet am afraid all the apprehensions and sense I now have will soon wear off."

At other times, we find him reasoning, "disinterestedly," to prove that his religious professions were not false.

"I have been very low and cold for the most of this day," he writes, March 22, 1743. "I have been trying to study a sermon, but cannot make it out. I had some enlargement in secret this evening; was made to cry out under this body of death, and had desires to be freed from it, and, while I live in this world, to be as a flame of fire in God's service. Every grace of God's Spirit which is implanted in the believer appeared lovely and desirable to me, and I could not but long for them; and I longed to see and know all the attributes of God, through a sense of the sweetness and happiness that

such a knowledge would afford the soul; and upon reflecting upon these [views] and this disposition of my soul, my doubts in some measure ceased; for surely this is something above nature; for why doth that God that is described in the Bible appear the most desirable to me, unless I have seen him and do love him? Why do I long to behold a great, a holy, a powerful, a just, a true, an eternal, an omniscient, omnipresent, all-wise, and sovereign God? Why doth such a God appear the most desirable to me, and why do I choose to love such a God, unless these his attributes have been so seen and known by me that they have left their stamp and impress on my soul? And why doth every Christian grace, as it is described in the word of God, appear beautiful and lovely to me, considered in themselves, considered without their consequence, (even eternal life and happiness,) unless I have seen the beauty of holiness? How can I long for holiness, unless I am in some measure sanctified?"

A little more than three months after he had begun to preach, he records the following self-dedication to God:

"August 7, 1742. Seeing Christ requires that I deny myself, take up my cross, and renounce all for him, taking him for my only portion here and forever, I do now afresh dedicate myself to the Lord, solemnly promising to renounce all other lords, and take him for my portion. I call heaven and earth to witness, that I now take the God of heaven and earth for my God. I now make myself over, with all that I have or ever shall have, to him. I now promise allegiance to the God of heaven, that henceforth I will make it my only business to serve and honor him, begging his gracious assistance to perform my obligations, and to keep my solemn vows inviolate. It is done; I am no more my own, but I give myself away to God, to be his forever. S. H."

It is an interesting fact, that he had no sooner entered the sacred office than he set apart the last day of every week as a day of fasting and prayer. He continued this habit more than sixty years. He did not allow his Saturday to be a day of hurried preparation for the Sabbath, nor of any mere intellectual labor. His work on his sermons was finished before nine o'clock on Friday evening, and Saturday was his day of religious rest. Such was his reverence toward Jehovah, that he dared not go into the pulpit save from the foot of the throne. It was his principle not only to feel what he preached, but also to preach what he felt. He chose to say aloud on the Sabbath what he had experienced the day before. It is partly because he had such deep emotion in view of truth, that he mourned so much over his want of feeling. It is the pious man who weeps the most bitterly over his remaining sin. What he says of President Edwards is emphatically true of himself.

He was "much on his knees in secret, and in devout reading God's word, and meditation upon it. And his constant, solemn converse with God, in these exercises of secret religion, made his face, as it were, to shine before others. His appearance, his countenance, words, and whole demeanor, (though without any thing of affected grimace and sour austerity,) was attended with a seriousness, gravity, and solemnity which was the natural, genuine indication and expression of a deep, abiding sense of divine things in his mind, and of his living constantly in the fear of God." *

* Life of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, pp. 45, 46.

Sect. VII. REASONS FOR HOPE AND DISCOURAGEMENT ON ENTERING THE SACRED OFFICE.

Although God acts as a Sovereign in giving success to preachers of his truth, yet he ordinarily blesses their services according to certain laws which himself has originated, and on which he allows them to calculate in some degree. Some of Hopkins's natural and moral characteristics promised a life of usefulness in the ministry; but he possessed other traits which depressed him, and indicated that he could better serve his race by scientific study than by oral address.

The influence of a public speaker is very much affected by his external appearance. The person of Hopkins was dignified, but not graceful. He was more than six feet in height, had a full chest, a large head and face, high cheek bones, a broad, capacious forehead, a gray or blue eye, which his friends and disciples represent as beaming with intelligence. He was erect in his figure,* and his whole person was of gigantic proportions. Some friends of his, now living, remark that when, with his white, full-bottomed, powdered wig, his three-cornered hat, his silver knee buckles and shoe buckles, he walked at the right hand of General Washington, with Governor Arthur Fenner at the left, through the streets of Newport, Rhode Island, during Washington's visit to that town, the stature of Hopkins appeared as imposing, although his motions were by no means so pleasing, as those of the father of his country.† Although in his old age Hopkins moved slowly and clumsily, yet in his early life he was noted for agility of frame, and several of his athletic feats are still described by the village chroniclers. His manners, too, although awkward, were commanding. In an association of ministers, he inspired all with an affectionate awe. Dr. Samuel Spring said, that he always trembled in Hopkins's presence. Not only in his youth, but even in his extreme age, Hopkins paid a fitting attention to his dress, which was always neat. His motions, especially in later life, were slow, and indicated the habitual composure of his mind. There was a want of flexibility in his intercourse with promiscuous circles, which prevented his being a favorite among them. He was not a genial companion with the masses. He was rather inclined to be taciturn, except among chosen friends. His thoughts

* An old man of ninety-six years, who lived in Newport before, and while, and after Dr. Hopkins preached there, and who belonged to Dr. Hopkins's church and choir, says, that "the doctor always attracted attention in the streets, as an *upright* and tall man. Strangers, presuming that he was a great man, would at once take off their hats when they met him." A Baptist clergyman of Newport was wont to say, "Dr. Hopkins's countenance always reminds me of the beloved disciple."

† This reminiscence of his friends is here mentioned, not for the purpose of indorsing its historical accuracy, but for the sake of disclosing the impression which Hopkins's figure and bearing made upon his surviving favorites. The writer has no means of ascertaining the truth of the report, that Hopkins officiated as chaplain when the first President of the Union visited Newport.

were in solid bullion, and he had but little small change. Seldom speaking unless he had something to say, he failed to please a somewhat comprehensive class of both men and women. Besides, when he saw marks of vanity or arrogance in others, he recoiled within himself, and appeared *blank* to them. Hence he has sometimes been misrepresented as unintellectual in his aspect.*

In the pulpit, his appearance was dignified, solemn, and even fearful. A little girl was once found weeping, because she dared not go into the meeting-house where he was to preach; for she said, "When I look up into the pulpit, I think I see God there." Still he was no orator. He had more of homely strength than of polish. He was blunt, though kindly, in his accents. He could "deliver" a metaphysical essay with very just emphasis; — Dr. William Patten was wont to say that Hopkins's reading of such a treatise was equal to any other man's commentary upon it; but he pronounced ungracefully and inaccurately; he made but few gestures, and those were awkward; his voice was not good,† and his whole enunciation was apt to be drawling and monotonous. He mourned over his ungainly style, was often depressed in view of it, and he strenuously advised young preachers to study the proprieties of outward manner.

"I am troubled," he complains, in his twenty-third year, "with a sort of tone, which I cannot get rid of." And in his seventy-fifth year, reviewing his ministry, he says, "I am sensible that I was greatly deficient and negligent in the former part of my life in my attention to language and taking pains to obtain a good delivery, which occasioned a very bad and disagreeable delivery, and rendered me, not a good, but a bad speaker; especially in the former part of my ministry; though since, for above thirty years, I have made some im-

* A distinguished author, describing his visit to Dr. Hopkins, says, "There is nothing striking in his manner and conversation. On the contrary, there is something which would lead a person ignorant of his character to think him rather weak, and simple, and unthinking. He looks like a vacant-minded man, and his conversation on common and ordinary topics is not calculated to remove such an impression." This criticism is important, for in the Memoir of the eminent man who made the criticism, it is confessed, that "to strangers, and especially to those who had no prepossessions in his favor, there was in his [this critic's] manners an air of something magisterial or repulsive, which kept many at a distance, and which even his best friends regretted," and which, we may add, Dr. Hopkins was one of the last men on earth to encourage. It was a marked peculiarity of Hopkins, and of Edwards, to seem to know nothing before men who seemed to know too much.

† The voice of Mr. Hopkins has been variously described. In his old age, it was, of course, more unpleasant than in his early life. A literary gentleman, who remembers him only as he spoke in his later years, gives a representation somewhat diverse from that given by Dr. Patten, and says of Hopkins, "His voice was as far removed from melodiousness as voice well could be. He seemed never to have learned that it was flexible, capable of an infinite variety of modulation. He spoke ever on the same key — a heavy, inelastic monotone." Several of his former parishioners, on the contrary, describe his voice as solemn, and at times impressive. Is it not probable that those who listened to him most frequently felt the defects of his utterance least sensibly, and that those who were familiar with him before his extreme old age, did not notice the faults which increased with increase of years, and made a deep impression on his younger hearers? When he commenced his ministry, there may have been nothing discouraging in his vocal powers, but they wanted culture.

provement in my delivery, by paying more attention to it,* and to language, by which I have been in a great measure cured of some of my bad habits, contracted through inattention, and the want of a friend to point them out to me and admonish me. When I first began to preach, my mind was inquiring after truth; and this pleased and satisfied me wherever I could find it, without attending much to the manner or the language by which it was conveyed to my mind. And I took it for granted that this was the case with others. This led me to inquire after *truth*, and in my sermons to convey it to others, without attending properly to the manner and the language in which it was communicated; so that while, I trust, I made some proficiency in the knowledge of the truth, I was careless as to the manner of communicating it, and contracted these bad habits, with respect to this, which it was not easy, if possible, to get wholly rid of, when I became sensible of my mistake, and was convinced of the importance of studying good language and a proper delivery." †

This tautological extract affords an apt illustration of the truth, that unless a man study the principles of elocution in his early life, he will seldom become master of them; and unless he form a good English style before he begins to preach, he is in danger of never forming one. The youthful Hopkins did not obtain a mastery of his mother tongue. His strong feelings vented themselves in strong words, (how could he help it?) but he did not explore the resources of the language; he did not learn its compass, its dignity, its graces, its delicate shades of meaning, its refined distinctions. ‡ This, whether he perceived it or not, was to be one of the chief hindrances to his power over an audience. He selected his words clumsily. He often chose, or rather stumbled upon, more energetic terms than he really meant to use. He did not know the meaning of a euphemism. Hence he was often liable to be misunderstood, to give unintended offence. Thus he advises a young lady: "Always disregard and avoid, as much as you can, and slight, and even despise, those who speak light of and ridicule religion and sacred things." Now, the good man did not mean that she should *despise* any part of "being in general," but rather that she should despise

* That this honest chronicler *endeavored* to improve in elocution is true; that he *succeeded* is not generally believed. He mistook the good effort for a good result.

† Sketches, etc., p. 92.

‡ In his earlier ministry he had a contempt for rhetorical study. When called to criticize a youthful preacher, before an association who had unanimously applauded that preacher for his eloquence of manner, Mr. Hopkins added to their compliments the following remark: "Your sermon, sir, was very beautiful, very eloquent; I was pleased with it; but, sir, you know I am a blunt man, — and a thousand such sermons would do no good to a *rat*." The writer once heard this criticism justified as literally correct. — Here it may be well enough to say, that if his biography can be of no other use to a public speaker, it may illustrate, by contrast, the worth of rhetorical culture. A quaint clergyman once remarked to a circle of candidates for the ministry, "Three things make out a *call* for you to preach: first, you must desire to preach; secondly, you must be able to preach; thirdly, you must be able to get men to come and hear you." The first requisite comprised a good heart; the second, a good intellect; the third, a good style and utterance. The sequel will show that Hopkins began his ministry with a better power of expression than he had when he closed it; but in the main he exerted his influence by the matter, in despite of the manner, of his sermons.

the *character* of irreligious wits. In a very benevolent epistle, which announces his intention to expose the low and disreputable nature of a certain assault upon him, the kind-hearted writer blunders into the nervous assertion, that he shall take "notice of a number of things" tending to make his assailant "ashamed, and render him mean, and even ridiculous, in the eyes of the public." He obviously meant something less intense than what he said.

No one can rightly estimate Dr. Hopkins as a theologian, without considering this fault of his rhetoric. There is often an oaken strength, a compressed energy, a real pith, in his style; a vigor and compactness of single phrases, a fulness and not unfrequent richness as well as force of expression; but there is oftener an inelegant and cumbrous arrangement of terms, a tedious verbosity, interchanging itself strangely with some most concise utterances; and above all, there is an infelicitous use of harder and harsher words than he would have selected, had he examined more minutely the "distinctions of sound." These unhappy words tended to prejudice many against his discourses, and they still deter many from a patient study of his speculations.

The intellectual powers of this youthful preacher betokened his eminent usefulness in the church. He was distinguished for his retentive memory. When, in mature life, he was asked to explain any prominent passage in the Bible, he could not only repeat it, but also its preceding and succeeding context, and could add a statement of the opinions expressed upon it by Bishop Newton, Flavel, Baxter, Guyse, Doddridge, and all the most noted commentators. Still, his genius did not promise the highest success in the pulpit. As his literary taste had received but little culture, so his imagination was less vigorous and active than is needed for popular oratory. He was at home in meditating on abstract truth, and he seldom wandered among the beautiful illustrations of it. His soul was on the loftiest topics, and it was difficult for him to come down to the familiar processes of lower minds. His habits of abstraction were fitted to remove the style of his preaching beyond the sympathies of undisciplined thinkers. He was a philosopher and a logician; and how difficult it is for such a man to become a fervid exhorter! His mental tendencies and his college habits indicated that he would adopt an abstruse manner of preaching; and after he had been in the ministry about fifty years, Dr. Ashbel Green says of him, "I have had queries with myself whether his abstruse manner of preaching has not contributed to drive his people from him."* Meditative and grave, he seemed to live above the world; but the world claims of its favorites that they come down lower. One who now lives to remember and honor him says, "Whenever he met me in

* Green's Life, p. 240.

my childhood, as I passed his house to my school, he inquired for my name, and the name of my father; but never seemed to notice my answers so as to recollect them, but appeared to be *lost in divinity*." This last phrase happily describes his appearance as he ascended the pulpit. He looked as if he was lost in divinity, when children and mothers in his audience longed for a warmer glow of fellow-feeling with poor, frail humanity.

In this respect, however, his appearance did injustice to his inmost heart. He was a man of the most earnest philanthropy. The ensuing Memoir is a history of his beneficence. His love to his race was comprehensive. It looked forward to the end of things. It made him faithful in reproof; still, this kind of fidelity did not promise to make him a favorite with the masses. His kindly feeling led him to become a plain-spoken man; but will not such a man have enemies? He was inwardly and thoroughly honest: a *sobriquet* often applied to him in his later years, even by his opponents, was, Old Sincerity. But it has been shrewdly said, that "strict honesty is an obstacle to one who would press through crowds." He had withal a remarkable degree of native modesty, which his friends would love, but which would indispose him to force his way to the high places of the earth. Even in recording his own age, he would betray his lowly estimate of himself. "I suppose," he writes on one of his Fast-Saturdays, September 17, 1743, — "I suppose" — and did not the good man really *know?* — "that I am this day twenty-two years old, and that this is my birthday." Such native lowliness laid a firm basis for his Christian humility, which was, perhaps, his most prominent virtue. While it ever led him to disparage himself, it promised success to his inquiries after truth. Only that man is fitted for sacred studies, who feels his urgent need of them. The Most High dwells in the heart of the contrite, and prospers the efforts of those who renounce themselves for him.

It appears, then, that Hopkins had reasons for persevering in the ministry, although he had several characteristics which interfered with the popularity of his preaching. His first reception among the churches was also fitted to encourage, although not to flatter him. Having a strong mind, and strong feelings, he often expressed them in strong language, and he thus affected strong men. His influence on vigorous minds was greater than on feeble; but he sometimes moved the masses. Thus he writes about six weeks after he began to speak in public:

"July 3, 1741. I have this day rode from [North] Hampton to Suffield, in order to preach. By the way, I was much drawn out in ardent desires that God would go with me, and that I might do something for his honor. I heard two sermons, and, being desired, I preached a third. The power of the Lord came down, and many of his children were filled with the Holy Ghost. I had a freedom in speaking which I never had before. I could not be heard all

over the meeting-house, by reason of the outcries of the people. O, wonderful that the Lord should make me his instrument to feed his lambs!

"Being desired, I preached again, this night, at the house where I lodged; many people came to hear the word, and we had the divine presence;—many Christians were sweetly refreshed."

March 25, 1743, he says: "Was a little raised this morning, by reading in Pilgrim's Progress and conversing with some Christian friends. I had something of liberty and freedom in speaking, but no great matter of a feeling sense of divine truths. The people were attentive, and many seemed to be affected. Some Christians were so affected as to cry out in sermon time."

It is evident that this young candidate was regarded as a man of promise, for he had an uncommon number of invitations to preach, in view of a settlement. Five of these he declined at once. He thus describes his services at one place, where, perhaps, he ought to have remained:

"In the beginning of December, 1742, I was invited to preach at Symsbury, in Connecticut, to a considerable congregation, who had lately lost their minister; where I continued preaching most of the time till the next May. The greater part of the people appeared attentive, and in some measure engaged in religion; but there were some opposers of the late revival of religion, and of the doctrines which were preached, and were much insisted upon by the friends of the revival. Though I refused to preach as a candidate, having no inclination to settle in the ministry at present, yet the town insisted upon having a meeting to see if they would give me a call to settle in the work of the ministry among them. When they met, it appeared that one hundred voted to give me a call, and that thirty voted against it. I told them that I had no thought of settling in the ministry at present; but if I had, I thought their want of unanimity, and the number of opposers, was a sufficient reason for not complying with their request. I therefore left them, and went to Northampton, with a view to pursue my studies for a longer time with Mr. Edwards." *

Dr. Patten narrates, that while Hopkins yet remained a candidate, he preached a sermon before an association of ministers, from the "text, Phil. ii. 12, 13: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' Instead of the common construction, that we are to understand, by 'fear and trembling,' that terror which the sinner experiences when convinced of sin, and awakened to a view of the punishment to which he is exposed, and by 'working out his salvation,' those exertions he is to make in obtaining an interest in Christ, he considered 'fear and trembling' to denote that deep humility which is implied in a sense of dependence on God, corresponding to the expression, 'for it is God which worketh in you to will and to do;' it not being a terror, but an encouragement to the soul, to realize its dependence on the God of grace, and that this humility or sense of dependence ought to be exercised in all that is willed or done in the work of salvation, till the work is finished, and complete salvation is obtained. After their return from meeting, one of the ministers said to Mr. Hopkins, 'You have given a strange explanation of that text. I do not approve of it.' But Mr. Edwards came up and said, 'I believe he has given the true meaning.' This was more in the scale than the censure of the other minister, more than though *all* the rest had commended him." †

* Sketches, etc., pp. 45, 46.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 29, 30.

Sect. VIII. ORDINATION AT HOUSATONICK, OR GREAT BARRINGTON.

It was with the disinterestedness of a missionary, that after refusing various applications from other and better places, Hopkins complied with a request to preach at Housatonick.* In 1740, this parish was incorporated, with the name of the "Second Parish in Sheffield." In 1761, it was incorporated as a town, with the name of Great Barrington. It is now the residence of an enterprising and cultivated population. Its natural scenery is charming. Mr. William Cullen Bryant, once an inhabitant of the place, has celebrated its woodlands and waters, in his poem on Monument Mountain. That noble mountain stood there, indeed, and the streams flowed around it, when Hopkins first visited the town; but he found there a class of residents far inferior to their successors. They still called their parish by its Indian name, Housatonick. They had resided thirteen years in the place without a settled minister. They were marked by that character which we may expect to find in a border town. Then the place was on the frontiers of American civilization. There were but six other white settlements in Berkshire county. It had withal no flattering prospects of increase, for it was dreaded by some on account of its proximity to the Dutch settlements along the Hudson, by others on account of its exposure to the Indian tribes from the north. Its yeomen often went to meeting with their guns on their shoulders. Was this the parish for an argumentative preacher like Hopkins? He had been trained, and his habits fitted him to live, among a more meditative people. He denied himself in going to Housatonick, just as a scientific scholar now crosses his natural inclinations in settling over a small, unpromising parish in Iowa. The best part of Hopkins's life was spent in what was, to all intent, a missionary field. His writings came from the heart of a missionary. When he went to Housatonick, it contained but thirty families. Of these several were Dutch. The very names of some of the early settlers, Joachim Van Valkenburgh, Isaac Van Deusen, Conrad and Hendrick Burghardt, Meese Hogoboom, etc., indicated that an advocate of "strict communion" and an opposer of the "half-way covenant" would have a perilous ministry among them.. The adversaries of this self-denying missionary (as he was in fact, although not in form) often say that he preached his people *down;* his own Journal proves how high his people had been *up.* He went to Housatonick in June, 1743, and he writes thus on the 1st of the next August:

"Took a walk to-day in the woods, and as I returned, went into the tavern. Found a number of men there, who I believe had better been somewhere else.

* We follow, in the present Memoir, Mr. Hopkins's orthography for this word, although his uncle, in the book already noticed, writes *Housatunnuk.*

Some were disguised by drink. It appeared to be a solemn place. The circumstances of this place appear more and more dreadful to me. There seems to be no religion here. If I did not think I had a call here, I should be quite discouraged. — August 23. Have been much exercised to-day with the headache, and feel otherwise indisposed. I suspect I am about to have the fever and ague, a distemper which few escape who live in this town.

"Sunday, August 28. I have had a fit of the fever and ague this afternoon. I was taken with the ague between two and three o'clock. I mistrust I had a fit every day but one last week, though in a lower degree. — August 30. Have had another fit to-day. It began after two o'clock, I believe. It is very tedious to bear the pain. I find I want patience. This pain made me think of everlasting pains. It would seem dreadful to bear forever the pain I felt; what then will it be to live in hell to all eternity! — September 17. I had no fit last night, which is the first that has missed. I am in hopes I shall have no more. I have had nineteen formal fits, one after another, without missing a day, and five at first which were hard, though I had not much ague. — September 30. Rode so far as Mr. Hubbard's, to-day, and back again. My fits continue yet. The people here have given me a call to settle among them, and have voted to give me sixty pounds, lawful money, for settlement, and thirty-five pounds salary the first year, and then add twenty shillings every year, till it arises to forty-five pounds. The committee was with me this night, and I objected against the settlement, as not enough to build a house and barn. [The amiable modesty of this reason will be appreciated by the reader, when he compares the situation of Mr. Hopkins at Great Barrington with the situation of other ministers at that time. One of his townsmen, his bosom friend, his classmate in college, and also his cousin, Rev. Jonathan Judd, had been ordained at Southampton, Mass., on the 8th of June, 1743, about three months previous to Hopkins's call, and 'had for a settlement two hundred acres of land, one hundred pounds, old tenor, and one hundred and twenty-five pounds, old tenor, to be expended in work on his house.' His salary, for the first three years, was one hundred and thirty pounds, old tenor, per annum; and five pounds a year to be added till it reached one hundred and seventy pounds. At the next meeting, it was voted to give him his wood, 'and we will give him more, according to our ability.' * These two hundred acres of land, in the rich but then new township of Southampton, were sufficient for the support of a minister's family. The parishioners of Mr. Judd, moreover, had been trained under the pastoral care of Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, and continued to enjoy his occasional ministrations.]

"Sunday, October 2. Preached in the forenoon at my lodging. — Had a fit of the fever and ague this afternoon. I have now had thirty-two fits. — November 25, 1743. Gave my answer to-day to this people, and have consented to stay among them in the work of the ministry; they are very unanimous in desiring me to settle among them. The day of ordination, if God permit, will be on the 21st of next month.

"Sunday, December 11. Preached to-day from Isa. 50: 11. Was very barren and dry all day. It seems to be always so with me of late. I have been very much shut up ever since I have been among this people. They are a very wicked people, but I can't tell them of it. — December 14. Had a fast to-day previous to the ordination. Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sergeant, and Mr. Jenneson were here. Mr. Sergeant made the first prayer. Mr. Hubbard was to gather the church, but there did not a sufficient number offer themselves, so that that business is put by till the ordination. I feel very much discouraged about entering into the work of the ministry. They are a contentious people, and I fear I am no way qualified for such a work.

"December 23, 1743. Have rode out to-day to see who would be embodied and join with the church to be gathered by God's permission, on the ordination day. I find some people very backward, and one told me he did not like

* American Quarterly Register, vol. x. p. 395.

my preaching because I told people to come to Christ, but never told them how to come. I have wondered that they said nothing against my preaching before, but I believe the more is to come. The way looks very dark before me. I am, it is most probable, going to run myself into innumerable difficulties by settling among this people. I dare not [say] that there is one male Christian among them, and most of them [are] opposers to divine grace and the power of godliness. — Saturday, December 24. I have fasted in secret today. — Have had some unusual assistance and enlargement. My courage is increased about settling here in the work of the ministry, being willing to go where God calls me, knowing that this life is not the place for happiness. I must wait for that, till I launch into eternity, and leave my corruptions behind. I hope God hath this day given me strength to desire his presence in the great work of the ministry. — December 28. I have this day publicly and visibly given myself up to the work of the ministry, being solemnly set apart to that employment, though I have reason to be ashamed that I have done it no more heartily. The Lord forgive me. [This was his ordination day. He was now twenty-two years and three months old.] — December 29. This day most of the gentlemen that assisted in my ordination set out home, and here I am left engaged in a great work. O that I might be faithful unto the death!"

In the Life of David Brainerd, (Dwight's edition, p. 187,) we read: "December 28, [1743.] Rode about six miles to the ordination of Mr. Hopkins. At the solemnity I was somewhat affected with a sense of the greatness and importance of the work of a minister of Christ. Afterwards was grieved to see the vanity of the multitude. In the evening, spent a little time with some Christian friends, with some degree of satisfaction; but most of the time I had rather have been alone."

Sect. IX. MR. HOPKINS IN HIS PAROCHIAL LABOR.

Gloomy as his forebodings had been, Hopkins at length succeeded in collecting five persons to unite in forming his church. On his ordination day, John and Jonah Pixley, James Sexton, Asahel King, and Jonathan Nash, with himself as their pastor, were constituted a church in this wilderness.* How faithfully he labored for this feeble band, and with how much of a missionary spirit he struggled against the untoward influences of his parish, may be inferred from the following passages of his Journal:

"August 28, 1744. This evening I have had unusual freedom in prayer Had some sense of the miserable state of my people, and some wrestlings for them. Was enabled to give myself up afresh to Christ, taking him with his cross, being heartily willing, if I might have his presence, to undergo all possible hardships and trials. Was enabled with a holy scorn to trample upon and despise the world, with all created good. I have taken some pains to prevent there being a tavern here next year; for which some are offended with me, yea, even rage at me. I have felt for twenty-four hours a calm in my own breast, respecting that, fully acquiescing in the will of God concerning it; and I was enabled this evening, especially, to commit this matter to God, and I choose his will should be done, whatever it is. [Thus it appears that Hopkins began early to be a reformer.] — November 20. Visited four Dutch families to-day. I fear they have not much true religion among them. I asked one, if she thought she could save herself. She answered, 'I don't

* Many of these facts are found in "A History of the County of Berkshire," and in Barber's "Historical Collections of Massachusetts."

know, — I will try.' This is the very language of the natural man, though all don't speak it out. — April 3, 1745. Have been very much discouraged, and things look very dark to me, ever since I came from Northampton last. I have inward difficulties and outward troubles which are too great for me, so that I go mourning all the day. I often fear I have no call among this people, and this day am almost determined to leave them; yea, to leave off preaching. My inward burdens and troubles are inexpressible, almost. Here is a fast to-morrow, and I cannot think of any thing to say to the people.

"Sunday, April 7. Preached to-day from Phil. iii. 18, 19. Had some liberty in speaking in the forenoon, but was enabled to speak with more warmth, vigor, and closeness this afternoon. I hope some one was smitten by the word. — Sunday, April 28. Preached to-day. Had some freedom of speech, *sed non præsentiam Dei.* — Sunday, May 12. Administered the sacrament. I have been very much sunk in my mind to-day and yesterday. Began to catechize the children in public.

"Sunday, August 4. Went to meeting in the forenoon. It raining very hard, but few people were there; therefore only prayed, sung, and read a chapter. Preached P. M. from Rom. vi. 23, without much freedom.

"July 25, 1749. Had freedom in secret prayer this evening. I think I can safely appeal to God, and solemnly declare before him, that I desire his smiles, and acceptance in his sight, above all things else; that I had rather be stripped of every worldly comfort than to be without this; yea, without this all the world is nothing. I am also conscious before God that I am sincere (though, alas! shamefully deficient) in the great work I have undertaken, and have never declined that which I seriously thought was for the spiritual good of my people, for any worldly interest. — May 8, 1753. Visited H. D. to-day, who is very sick, and is not like to continue long; her sister, E., came out of the door after me, appearing tenderly concerned about herself; desired me to pray for her, which I endeavored to do when I got into my closet at home, and was enabled to cry to God for mercy for her soul with freedom and importunity. I cannot but hope that God enabled me to ask converting grace for her; and I humbly hope he will, in his time and way, give it. O, what a sweet duty is intercession, when it is done in faith with the whole heart! Every fervent intercessor has his reward *paid down*, and his prayer immediately returns into his own bosom. — May 9. This day H. D. died. She was a desirable youth, and hopefully converted a few weeks before she was taken sick; and God was pleased to make me a mean of awakening her, which I esteem a greater favor than if he had given me the whole world. This is the first that I have evidence of the conversion of, since I have been in the place; and surely it is well worth while to preach seven years (which is the time I have been here) to be any ways instrumental of the conversion of one soul.

"December 28, 1751. This day finishes eleven years since I was ordained to the work of the ministry. How poorly it has been spent, God knows! Have had no success! Have reason to be greatly ashamed. Kept a secret fast. God only knows my misery.

"November 6, 1755. — A young woman came to me this day, who lives in the parish, with a countenance solemnized and dejected. She says she has been concerned for her soul near half a year, but in a much higher degree about three weeks past; that for two or three nights past, she had little [sleep] or none; that to-day, as she had been some time alone praying, to that degree of engagedness that she knew not where she was, she seemed to hear Christ himself speak these words to her, 'Come unto me,' &c., which was accompanied with such power to her soul, that she hopes she was enabled to believe on Christ. I hope she is born again, but am not without fears. May the kind Redeemer prevent her being deluded.

"Lord's Day, December 29, 1755. Was sent for, in the intermission to-day, to go and see ———. The messenger said she was dying; but when I came there, I found her full of joy and comfort, supposing she had

had saving discoveries of Christ. She admired the goodness of God, and called upon all to praise him. Upon examining her, I was satisfied that she was deceived; that it was only the workings of her imagination. She was confident; but I told her my fears. How exposed to the delusions of the devil are ignorant persons! especially those whose understanding is shattered, and their imagination lively by a fever.

"Monday, November 1, 1756. Attended the funeral of Sergeant John Pixley, who died last night about nine o'clock. Asahel King and John Pixley were members of this church, and both friendly to me and to the interest of religion, [and] were some of the most constant attenders on public worship. Asahel King was a man of more than common good sense, and promised to be a useful man in church and state. I and the interest of religion have received a greater loss in his death than [we should have received, perhaps, in the loss of any other.] I have in him lost my greatest and ablest friend in this place. A prince is fallen, and I am weak."

The preceding quotations indicate the high standard of Christian character, and the habit of plain dealing, for which the pastor of Great Barrington was noted, and by which he gained little popularity with the multitude. He told men just what he thought of them. On one occasion, a friend came to him, and described "*a great* CONVERSION," of which he had recently been the subject. Mr. Hopkins said to him: "After several seasons of great excitement and life, and several of depression, you will probably give up all your hope, and *within two years, or perhaps one, you will be worse than ever.* Go now, I beg of you, and become *truly* penitent for your sins." The predicted apostasy took place. But, after a few years, the same friend revisited Mr. Hopkins, and mourned over his own sinfulness, and wondered that he did not love the divine character, which appeared so amiable. "Ah," said the sagacious pastor, "you will not get rid of this in six months. Your raising God one minute, and depressing yourself the next, — your alternately exalting his law, and falling down at the foot of the cross, — seem to indicate that God's Spirit has been with you." And so it was. Mr. Hopkins's "power of detecting the symptoms of religious decline, and of determining the true state of the heart, formed one of the distinguishing qualifications of his pastoral character. It was this that made him the spiritual adviser of so many; and that induced clergymen at a distance to refer to him, so frequently, doubtful cases of church discipline."*

Here we see another point of resemblance between the pastor of Housatonick and his theological instructor. In his Memoir of that instructor, the pupil says just what we may say of Hopkins himself: "In this world, so full of darkness and delusion, it is of great importance that all should be able to distinguish between true religion and that which is false. In this, perhaps, none has taken more pains, or labored more successfully, than he whose life is set before the reader."†

* See Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp. 136–139.

† Hopkins's Preface to his Memoir of Edwards, p. 4, Edinburgh edition.

Sect. X. EXTEMPORANEOUS AND EXPOSITORY PREACHING.

The opposers of Dr. Hopkins have supposed him to be devoid of mental versatility, and have inferred, from his metaphysical tastes, that he preached elaborate disquisitions rather than practical sermons, and wrote his discourses for the press rather than for his audience. He doubtless was tempted to do so, but was too conscientious to comply with the temptation. It is interesting to notice how many expedients he tried to edify his hearers, and how often his mind oscillated with regard to the most effective style of public discourse. He writes, on the 2d of March, 1743, ten months after his licensure to preach:

"*Expounded* this night at my lodging. Was very low and dull all day, so that I could not study; but just before the exercise began, I thought of this place, Isaiah xl. 5, &c. Had words put into my mouth strangely, though not with such a feeling sense as sometimes. Who would not trust in the Lord?

"Housatonick, July 5, 1743. [After preaching a sermon before Rev. Mr. Sergeant, predecessor of Edwards at Stockbridge, Hopkins says:] I perceive that Mr. Sergeant was not well pleased with it. He made several objections against it to me, and though he did not in plain words say so, yet he evidently disliked my preaching without notes. It may be that I am in the wrong in thus doing, but I do not see it yet. O that God would lead me in the way that I should go!

"July 10. I have preached now five Sabbaths altogether without notes, and believe it the best way for me to practise it.

"Thursday, October 4, 1744. I prayed and preached. Had no freedom at all. Used my notes pretty much. I something suspect I had better fling them quite by.

"Sunday, June 16, 1745. Preached to-day. Wrote almost all that I preached, and read all that I wrote. I propose to preach a system or body of divinity; to lay open and explain the fundamental doctrines of the gospel in their order, and have begun to-day.

"Friday, September 28. I was much at a loss about a subject to preach upon to-day, (this morning;) upon which I made a prayer for direction, and in my prayer these words came to my mind, contained in Ex. xix. 10, 11; upon which I immediately made a sermon, and though I had no immediate or special assistance in making or preaching it, yet surely it may encourage me to depend on God.

"Tuesday, November 4, 1755. Attended our quarterly lecture. Finding that but very few people attended it, I did not preach the sermon I had prepared; but as I went into the meeting-house, nobody being there, and expecting but few, it being late, I pitched upon Mark x. 24, and extemporized upon it. There were but about twenty persons at meeting."

In his seventy-fifth year, as he reviews the experiments of his long ministerial life, he thus records their results:

"For forty years or more, since I entered on the work of the ministry, I have made it my practice to read a chapter in the Bible, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon; and to say something on the chapter by way of explanation and improvement; in which I have not confined myself as to the time I should spend upon it, but have said more or less, as I thought would be most instructive and edifying. In order to do this in the best manner I could, I have attended to the chapters to be read before the Sabbath,

and consulted those expositors which were within my reach, which has generally cost me as much time and pains as the studying of my sermons. And I have thought this was as profitable a part of the public exercises as preaching, which has not been neglected by thus reading and expounding. And I have had satisfactory evidence that the hearers, in general, have been pleased with, and thought themselves most edified by, this practice. And I have for some years past neglected to preach a sermon, in the common way, in the forenoon, and, instead of it, have expounded and improved the chapter which comes in course in the New Testament. And this, so far as I can learn, has been as acceptable to the congregation in general, as preaching from one particular text, if not more so.

"I have not been confined to my notes in preaching, except for a short time, when I first began; and have not generally written my sermons in full length, but only the heads of them, and some short hints to suggest ideas, which were to be mentioned under the general heads.* I do not, however, recommend this as the best method. I think it would be best, in general, to write all the sermon, and commit it to memory,† with an allowance to deviate in some instances from what has been written, and to add to it what may be suggested to the mind in the delivery. If this practice be diligently followed for a time, the preacher, it is expected, will be able not only to preach without notes, but his mind will be so furnished with the knowledge of divinity, that he will be able to preach without writing his sermons.

"I have not written the sermons which I have preached for some years past. I have written in this time more on the various subjects of divinity than in former years, but not in the form of sermons. And I suppose that a minister cannot improve his mind in the best manner, and make proper advances in the knowledge of divinity, unless he uses himself to write on divine subjects."‡

The fact that Mr. Hopkins persevered so long in the extemporaneous style of address, which was highly unpopular among the preachers of his time, and also the fact that, as early as 1755, he read a chapter of the Bible before his morning and his afternoon sermon,§ — a practice which was then denounced and shunned as "Episcopal," — indicate the spirit of independence and of improvement which characterized the favorite pupil of Edwards. If he had been *born* an orator, his extemporaneous and expository practice would have added much to his oratorical power. As he was born to be a teacher, this practice made him the more interesting to such as loved to be taught.

* Many of the manuscripts from which Hopkins preached are about three inches square, and contain from ten to twenty pages, some of them covered with his peculiar cipher. He says that President Edwards, during the later years of his life, recommended the practice of preaching without notes altogether, but not without writing the sermons, which were to be delivered in great degree *memoriter*.

† It is very obvious that he means to recommend this method as the best for young preachers only, and as capacitating them to preach afterwards, without having written their sermons.

‡ Sketches, etc., pp. 89–91

§ By a record of President Stiles, dated January 8, 1771, it appears that Dr. Hopkins was accustomed, while in Newport, to read a chapter of the Old Testament *in course*, on Sabbath morning, and a chapter of the New Testament *in course*, on Sabbath afternoon, and to accompany the reading with occasional comments.

Sect. XI. INTERFERENCE OF COLONIAL TROUBLES WITH MR. HOPKINS'S MINISTRY.

To a merely human observer, it should seem that a logician, like Hopkins, ought not to have been stationed among a people who were trembling by night and day in fear of the Indian war whoop, and whose Sabbath worship even was disturbed by military preparations. To sow the seed of the word on a battle field is discouraging to any one; especially so to a man of Hopkins's philosophical temperament. It is no wonder, that such a man could not speak loud enough to drown the screams of women and children frightened by the noise of war. When his opposers have triumphed over the meagre success of his ministry, they have forgotten how much he did and how much he suffered in behalf of his country; how often his parochial services were interrupted by the exposure of his frontier residence to the perils of battle. Few ministers of the gospel have sacrificed more than he for their country's welfare. He was a true patriot. A French and Indian war broke out in 1744, about a year after his ordination, and continued until 1749. Another raged from 1752 until 1763. Some might suppose that Hopkins was so much absorbed in metaphysics, as to feel no interest in these commotions. But the following passages of his Journal prove the contrary, and show the importance of our considering the interruptions of his ministry, when we estimate its results:

"Sunday, July 7, 1745. Administered the sacrament and preached in the afternoon. A post came in sermon time, and brought news that Cape Breton is taken. Have concluded to go to Albany to-morrow. — Albany, July 8. Came here to-day with S. King and Benjamin Alvord, the post. The gentlemen of the city met us without the gate, and welcomed us in, being much rejoiced at the good news which we brought. — July 9. Staid in the city to-day, and, being invited, went into the fort, where were all the gentlemen of the city. The guns were shot, and all were treated with wine. Three bonfires were made. — Thursday, July 18. Received a proclamation for a public thanksgiving this evening, on account of our success at Cape Breton. The day appointed was this, and is now past. — August 1. Kept *this day* as a thanksgiving on account of success at Cape Breton. Preached from Mal. ii. 2. Had some liberty of speech. [A conscientious observance.] — October 4. The gentlemen from Boston, who are going to the treaty at Albany, lodge here to-night. — Sunday, October 13. Received news by the post to-day, that the Indians have killed one man and taken another on Connecticut River. — November 22. Some time after midnight last night, there came a man to my lodgings, and cried out with all earnestness, saying that Stockbridge was beset and taken by the Indians — that there were a multitude of them, able to drive all before them; which news was brought by a couple of young men who had fled from Stockbridge. This news alarmed the whole house and the whole town in an instant. But people were soon in some measure calmed, by hearing that the report was false — that Stockbridge was not beset, though they expected them there every hour. This day the most of my people moved off into forts. Having none in this place, I, with my landlord's family, went down to Mr. Hubbard's, and lodge in the fort at Elisha Noble's. — November 23. Had a very poor lodging in the fort last night. The house was

crowded with women and children. There came up yesterday and last night above a hundred men from Connecticut, who returned to-day, having found out, by a post from Kinderhook, that the story which so alarmed the country is false. — Thursday, December 5. This day being appointed for public thanksgiving, I preached from Psalm lvi. 12, 13, without any more sensible freedom than nature will afford. — Sunday, December 8. Went to the fort last night to lie, and some time in the night news came from Stockbridge that a barn was set on fire and burnt up, — supposed to be done by the Indians and French, — which made something of an alarm among us. Went to meeting, and preached but one sermon, from Matt. x. 28. Had some freedom in prayer and preaching. — Thursday, August 14, 1746. Attended the public thanksgiving to-day, ordered on account of the victory of the Duke of Cumberland over the rebels in Scotland, gained April 16. I preached from Prov. xi. 10, with some freedom of speech. — Northampton, Tuesday, August 26. Came here to-day. Lodge at Mr. Edwards's. The Indians killed five men and a girl at Deerfield, yesterday. — Sunday, September 28. Have been strongly urged to go into the woods with a scout of a hundred men, to be gone a fortnight or more. — Stockbridge, Monday, September 29. Came here to-day from home, with the design to go in the scout if Mr. Sergeant should advise to it, and with his advice have concluded to set out with them. — September 30. Set out in the afternoon, with a scout of one hundred white men and nineteen Indians, and travelled about four miles, and then encamped by a large pond. I and some others lodge in a house before made by the Indians. — Pontoosuk, October 1. Rose this morning finely refreshed in my bark house, for which I was in a measure thankful to God, who can give health when means are wanting. Drank a dish of tea in an Indian spoon, made in a tin pot. One man returned to Stockbridge, being out of health. It rained last night, and looked likely to rain to-day; but we set out, and have arrived safe to Pontoosuk. It began to rain before we got here; but there being a house made before, a fire was directly built, and we are very comfortable. Two more Indians came in this night, and bring a letter from Captain Williams, directing not to go above the fort destroyed at Hoosack; and if we do, order his Indians back who are listed for Canada. — December 24. It proving a very cold and windy day, and having no company, I set out home. — Sunday, February 15, 1747. Captain Williams came here before night, and lodged with me.* He has orders to provide for the soldiers on this river, for their march to Albany in order for Crown Point. — Tuesday, March 10. The soldiers in this place are enlisted for Canada. Being called off into the wars, they desired me to preach a sermon to them before they went off. Accordingly, we had a meeting, and I preached from Ps. cxliv. 1. — Sunday, April 12. Preached to-day in Conrad Burghast's fort, (people not being inclined to go to the meeting-house,) from Isaiah xxii. 12, 13, 14."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "September 3, 1754. Reverend and Dear Sir: The dire alarm we have had is like to prevent the proposed journey of myself and wife; yet I shall come down next week, if it can be thought prudent to leave my family. You will doubtless rejoice with me when you hear that the first news we had from Stockbridge was not true; that good Mr. Edwards is yet alive, and, as we hope, safe. His fits of the fever and ague had left him some time ago, but are now returned again, and he has a fit every day. I made him a visit last week. He seemed to be more dejected and melancholy than I ever saw him before; is quite [depressed], and pines at the loss of so much time. On the Lord's [day] P. M., as I was reading the psalm, news came that Stockbridge was beset by an army of Indians, and on fire, which broke up the assembly in an instant. All were put into the utmost consternation — men, women, and children crying, 'What shall we do?' — not a gun to

* Mr. Hopkins often speaks of the military and civil officers lodging at his house during the Indian wars.

defend us, not a fort to flee to, and few guns and little ammunition in the place. Some ran one way and some another; but the general course was to the southward, especially for women and children. Women, children, and squaws presently flocked in upon us from Stockbridge, half naked, and frighted almost to death; and fresh news came, that the enemy were on the Plains this side Stockbridge, shooting, and killing, and scalping people as they fled. Some presently came along bloody, with news that they saw persons killed and scalped, which raised a consternation, tumult, and distress inexpressible, many particulars of which Mr. Wheeler, now at my house, *quorum pars magna fuit*, can relate, which I have not now time to write. Two men are killed and scalped, two children killed, and one of them scalped; but two Indians [have been] seen at or near Stockbridge, that we certainly know of. Two Indians may put New England to a hundred thousand pounds' charge, and never much expose themselves, in the way we now take. The troops that came to our assistance are now drawing off; and what have they done? They have seen Stockbridge, and [eaten] up all their provision, and fatigued themselves, and that's all; and now we are left as much exposed as ever, (for I suppose they are all going.) In short, the case of New England looks very dark, especially of the frontiers. A few savages may be a terrible scourge to us, &c. — I began this letter in the morning, since which time (for it is now past five o'clock, P. M.) I have had thoughts of moving my children to Canaan. If I do, I shall be at commencement, it is likely. My regards to Mrs. Bellamy. From your friend and servant, SAM'L. HOPKINS."

"September 12, 1754. This day I moved my family to Canaan, to the house of Mr. Jonas M——, that they may be out of the way of fear from the Indians. — October 23. Moved my family home to-day, and have all got safe to my own house. — November 20. This evening my wife met with a sad accident. A pound of powder, being wet, was set in my oven, last night, to dry. As my wife was lighting a candle just at the oven's mouth, the powder took fire, and burnt her face and neck very much. It was a wonder it had not killed her. Blessed be God for this preservation! — Lord's Day, February 23, 1755. A great number of Connecticut soldiers were at meeting, who are going to Stockbridge and Pontoosuk, to build forts and scout, &c. — Thursday, July 3, 1755. Attended a public fast to-day, which was appointed to seek God for success in the expeditions going on this summer in North America; one against those that used to be neutral French at the eastward; another against Crown Point and a French fort near Oswego Lake; another against the French on the Ohio. Preached, A. M., from Deut. xxiii. 9; P. M. from 2 Chron. xiii. 18. — July 9. Heard to-day that the Indians have taken a man, and woman, and child, about ten miles to the west of us. It was done yesterday, and one Indian was killed by the husband, while he was attempting to carry off his wife a captive. One woman is also wounded. Two or three Indians chased a man about a mile and a half west of my house. Upon this news, we think it not prudent to live at my house, and have therefore concluded to lodge at mother Ingersoll's this night. — September 13. Had news this week that our army going to Crown Point was beset by French and Indians, upon which great numbers set out for their assistance. But last night a post came from the army, with the joyful news that our army has got the victory, with the loss of about an hundred men; that the French have lost nine hundred, and many are become prisoners, &c. May God have the glory! — Lord's Day, September 14. Preached from Psalm cvii. 21, with application to the victory granted last week to our army, over the French and Indians. — December 5. Near twenty soldiers lodged at my house last night, on their return from the camp at Lake George, and a number are here again this night. — Lord's Day, May 16, 1756. A great number of soldiers at meeting, both forenoon and afternoon, who are on their march to Crown Point. Two captains and their companies desired prayers in their behalf in the afternoon."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "August 10, 1757. Reverend and Dear Sir;

You have abundance of news below, I suppose. We have none here from the forts since last Friday night; and the most we can depend on is, that a close siege is laid to the upper fort, and our men are in a distressed situation, if not taken or relieved; that General Webb, with the forces then arrived at Fort Edward, (which Colonel Dwight thinks must be near six thousand,) went on Lord's day or Monday for their relief. People from Westfield and Springfield, &c., have been passing by us ever since Monday evening. Whether the lower counties are in motion, have not heard. The upper part of this county, Northampton, &c., I hear don't stir, because they think themselves in danger! Ah, such colonels! I think it high time to have a change in the ministry here, as well as in England. But I'll suppress invectives. There will be enough without mine. Most men seem to be touchy and waspish, and, in calamity, ready to blame somebody. But few look as high as the heavens, or are sensible that they rule. If the princes in Zoan are become fools, by whose ordering is it? This in a hurry (though perhaps it [will not] get to you so.) No more, but that I am yours, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "August 15, 1757. Reverend and Dear Sir: The news that you may depend upon is, that Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French, August 9, at seven o'clock, A. M., our men having liberty to march out with their arms and packs, and one brass cannon. That the Indians stripped and killed some of our men before they left the fort, which was the next morning about sunrise, and followed them four or five miles when they marched, stripped them all, and killed hundreds, (how many not known,) in the most barbarous manner. That 'tis not known whether the French design to evacuate the fort or keep it. That General Johnson's Indians say that large parties of the enemy have struck off towards our frontiers since the surrender of the fort. That on this account two regiments, viz., Colonel Williams's and Colonel Ruggles's, (one of which had got to Kinderhook, the other had passed this place,) are gone back to guard the frontiers on Connecticut River, and three companies of Colonel Chandler's regiment (Worcester county) are gone to Stockbridge. That there is an innumerable company of men at Fort Edward, all in a huddle and confusion, doing nothing, and like to be of no service, if the enemy are withdrawn, which (to me, at least) is most probable. That men are still passing by us towards the fort. Some hundreds, now in town, have sent back to Springfield to General Pepperell, (for he is there,) to know what to do; whether go forward or go back. — Current reports are, that Generals Johnson and Lyman, two days before the fort was taken, with tears in their eyes, begged leave to march for the relief of the garrison, but could not obtain. That General Webb sent orders to the commandant at William Henry to deliver up the garrison three days before he did, &c., &c., &c. — Many reflections rise in my mind which I suppress as not worth sending to you. These are dark times indeed, but I predict much darker. But this is with God, and this in some measure supports your friend and servant, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Sometimes our theologian writes with force on the ill-judged movements of the troops. "As to the army," he says, in 1756, "our general officers are very grand. The particular or private baggage of each one is at least *five cart loads*. The French will support a bigger army, with perhaps one quarter of the company. Mighty preparations, but nothing done. Is not a truly martial spirit departed?" His words, considering that he was a divine, often sound like a trumpet. He strove to stir up his countrymen to high effort. He labored and suffered for us, and we enjoy the fruits of his toil, while we complain of his unsuccessful ministry. His patriotism fitted him to be a theologian, and his theology made him a patriot

Sect. XII. INTEREST IN THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The self-denying pastor of Housatonick not only felt a deep concern for the political condition of his own country, but also for the spiritual welfare of the Indians. We often find him preaching to the tribes of red men collected at Stockbridge, about an hour's ride from his own house. These Indians became so warmly attached to him, that upon the death of their celebrated missionary, Rev. John Sergeant, they earnestly desired Mr. Hopkins to supply the vacant place. Had he accepted the appointment, he would have received from the government a much larger income than he could ever expect to receive at Great Barrington. The following is his modest narrative:

"It was disagreeable to me to go so far from Mr. Edwards, as I did when I settled at Great Barrington, (being at least sixty miles,) with whom I had studied so long, and who was able to assist me farther to make advancement in knowledge, could I live in his neighborhood, so as to be able to visit him often, and converse with him, &c. But I was relieved and gratified with respect to this, in a few years after my settlement, by his removing from Northampton and settling at Stockbridge, within seven miles of my house. Mr. Sergeant, who was missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, when I settled at Great Barrington, died on the 27th of July, 1749. The next year, the commissioners in Boston, who had the care of the Indian mission at Stockbridge, sent to me their proposal and desire that I would accept of that mission, in which invitation both the white people and the Indians at Stockbridge earnestly joined. And the Indians sent a particular messenger to me to entreat me to come and be their minister. My answer was, that I would take the matter into serious consideration. But as I did not think myself equal to such a situation and business, I should hesitate with regard to accepting the offer, though I should not know of any other man better qualified to take the place. But as I had one in view who was much better qualified, every way, for such a mission, if he could be obtained, as I hoped he could, if I otherwise were inclined to accept, I should refuse, in order to introduce him. Mr. Edwards was the man whom I had in view. He had been dismissed from the church in Northampton in the year 1750. I therefore wrote to the commissioners in Boston, recommending him in the strongest terms, as the most proper person for that mission, and mentioned him to the white people, and to the Indians, as the most suitable man for their minister. Accordingly, he was introduced, and settled there, in August, 1751, not quite eight years after I was settled at Great Barrington." *

As Mr. Edwards had become very unpopular among the churches at this time, he did not regard it probable that he could obtain any where a re-settlement in the ministry. According to Hopkins's Memoir of him, "beggary, as well as disgrace, stared him full in the face, if he persisted in his principles." It is unlikely that he could have elsewhere found so advantageous a residence as Stockbridge; for here he was near to the friend whose opinions and character he highly valued, and their mutual fellowship amid the toils of the wilderness

* Sketches, etc., pp. 53, 54.

would discipline their hearts for the best kind of theological investigation. A picture of Edwards and Hopkins, moving about among the wigwams of Stockbridge Plain, would be instructive. It is also encouraging to remember that the impressions then made by these two divines upon the Stockbridge tribes, are, perhaps, now to be traced upon the descendants of these tribes, on the banks of the Vermillion River.

Between 1760 and 1770, we find our philanthropic pastor engaged in a correspondence with the Commissioners of the Society for propagating the Gospel; and also with Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, in reference to the education of Indian youth. He entered into the details of the enterprise, and took a fresh interest in all, even the humblest individuals, who could further it. He manifests much good sense in his letters; as, for example, in the following to President Wheelock:

September 30, 1751. "Mr. Hawley, in a letter to me of the 20th instant, desires me to inform you of the following particulars, which I will give you in his own words: 'Since I wrote my letter to Mr. Wheelock, I am advised that Mr. Occom is not quite so acceptable to the Indians there' (at Oneida) 'as I heard at first. He tells them they must not cut their hair, but let it grow, as the English do; that they must not wear their Indian ornaments, as wampum, and the like, but put them off, and burn them in the fire; that they must not feast at weddings, ... at the birth and baptism of their children, &c., &c. These are points that he insists greatly upon, which are too unpopular for them.'—I am sorry to hear this of Mr. Occom, which, if true, I think shows him greatly deficient in that prudence which is necessary for an Indian missionary, and renders him unfit to go among Indians; at least alone. We shall be informed of more particulars when Mr. Hawley returns, when I hope he will make you a visit."

Sect. XIII. SERMON TO THE INDIANS.

The subject of this Memoir is called a metaphysical preacher. In his tendencies he was such. But he often resisted those tendencies, and aimed to speak such words as fitted his audience. Even in his old age, still more in the meridian of his life, "his preaching had much *naïveté* when he descended from his abstractions. He used to speak without circumlocution, and in a plain, conversational way. Once, in preaching at Dr. Patten's, he spoke of the "loaves and fishes" as what men were still running after, and his simple, blunt manner provoked a smile from some of his younger hearers. He saw it, and said, "You may smile, but it's true." *

This reminiscence of Dr. Channing solves the oft-proposed query, How could a metaphysician like Hopkins have engaged the interest of the Housatonick and Mohawk Indians? for they heard him gladly. The following sermon sheds more light than would come from a volume of criticism, on his general principle of adapt-

* Extract from a letter of Rev. William E. Channing, D. D.

ing himself to his hearers. What if his philosophical speculations raised him often above his auditory? This is a fault of human nature. The habits of the philosopher thwart sometimes the intentions of the minister. Perhaps this sermon is the only one addressed to the American Indians which has ever been printed. And it is singular, that such a sermon should have come from one of whom it has been said,* that "his love of metaphysics carries him out of real life." There is not in the records of our literature a more interesting old manuscript than has been found among the papers of Hopkins, indorsed with these significant words: "N. B.—These sermons were preached to the Indians the next Sabbath after Mr. Edwards left them to take the Presidency of Nassau Hall, January 21, 1758."!—They are necessarily brief, for each sentence was first spoken in the English language by Mr. Hopkins, and then in the Indian by an interpreter. It is probable, also, that the preacher, as was his wont, introduced extemporaneous remarks at the close of the written paragraphs. But let us not detain the reader from one, as a specimen, of these Indian discourses.

Text.—Luke viii. 4–15. The Parable of the Sower. Our Saviour in this discourse, compares the hearers of the word to four sorts of ground, that the seed which men sow falls on.

One sort of hearers he compares to the highway—the hard path. The seed that falls on the hard, trodden path makes no impression on the ground, but lies on the top, bare and uncovered; and then the birds come and pick it up, and so it is lost. So some that hear the word, don't mind it much. It does not lay hold of their hearts and make them concerned about their souls. Their hearts are as hard as the hard path; and so the word is all lost, and does them no good. As the birds eat the seed that falls on the path, so the devil steals the word out of the mind of such, that he may destroy their souls.

Another sort of hearers Christ compares to a rock that lies just under ground, and has a little thin dirt on it. The seed that is sown on such a rock will fall into the dirt that is on it, and be covered; and because it has a thin covering, it will sprout and come up quick; but because there is not dirt enough for the roots to grow in, when the sun shines hot upon it, it withers away and dies. So, many that hear the word think a great deal about it. They believe it, and are affected with it, at first. They love to hear the word, and are concerned about their souls, for a while, and they intend always to be good, and so go to heaven; but yet their hearts are not really good. They are not truly born again, so as to have new hearts; and therefore, when they are tempted to sin, they turn from all the good they had, and fall into sin. All their goodness withers away, and they are often worse than they were before.

Another sort of hearers of the word Christ compares to ground full of thorns. The bushes are cut off and the ground ploughed a little, but it is all full of the roots of thorns that are not killed. When the seed sprouts and grows, the thorns grow too, and outgrow the wheat, and shade it, and kill it. So, many that hear the word mind it some, and seem as if they intended to become good; but presently the cares of the world, and their lusts and pleasures, root all good thoughts out of their hearts, and they become as bad as ever.

* By Dr. Ashbel Green, in his Memoir, p. 240.

Another sort of hearers Christ compares to good ground — good strong land, which is well fitted for seed. The seed falls into this, comes up, and grows, and brings forth good fruit. So some that hear the word receive it into good hearts. They love the word and obey it heartily, and when they die, they go to heaven.

Now, which of these sorts of hearers are you? What effect do the words of Christ have on your heart? You all hear the word; Christ sends his ministers to sow the word among you. Are not some of you like the path? You don't mind or care any thing about what you hear. Do you not forget what you hear at meeting before you get home, and never think any thing more about it? The word never comes to your heart so as to make you concerned about your souls. Other things come to your heart. You are greatly concerned about them and affected with them; but you don't care about what Christ says to you. Don't some of you mind the devil more than you do Christ, and suffer him to take away Christ's words out of your heart?

Are not some of you like the stony ground? You have been affected with the word, it may be. The word once seemed to come to your heart, and you reformed your wicked practices, and prayed to God. You was concerned about your souls, and wanted to get an interest in Christ. You loved to hear the word, and had great hopes you was good and should be saved. But have you not fallen away, and forsaken Christ and religion? Have you not been like the wheat that comes up on a rock? At first you seemed to grow and flourish, as if you would bring forth a good crop; but have you not since hearkened to temptations, and forsaken the ways of Christ? Is not all your religion withered and dried up? If it is so, the word of Christ never had root in your hearts. Your hearts are like the hard rock, where the seed cannot take root and grow. This stony heart must be broken and taken away, and a new, soft heart given you, or you cannot be saved.

Are not some of you like the ground full of thorns? The word has been sown upon your hearts, and seemed to take some root. You reformed many things, and said you would be good, you would love and serve Christ; but have you not altered your mind and changed your course since? Have not your lusts and the wickedness of your heart turned you away from Christ? Don't you care more about the things of the world, now, than about Christ? Is not the word become unfruitful by your worldly cares and lusts? The good seed cannot grow in such hearts, that mind the world more than Christ. Your wicked hearts must be changed, and the bad things must be torn out of them, as the roots of thorns are torn out of the ground, or the word will do you no good.

Are any of your hearts like the good ground? Has the word fallen into your hearts, and do you keep it there? Do your hearts love Christ and his ways? Do you love to hear of Christ, and do what he bids you? And do you bring forth good fruit by obeying Christ? You ought seriously to inquire how it is with you in these respects.

Christ has been sowing the seed of his word among you. Mr. Edwards has been here a good while, sowing the word among you. He has sowed a great deal of good seed among you, and has watered it with his prayers and counsels, and tried to make it grow. But now he has done sowing the good seed among you, and is gone; and now you ought to sit down and consider what is become of the good seed that is sown. If your hearts are not bad, if they are like the good ground, the word he has sown among you will do you a great deal of good, and bring forth much fruit; but if your hearts are bad, the good seed will all be lost; there will be no good fruit, but 'tis to be feared you will go to hell, after all.

It may be you have been a little affected with the word sometimes, but then it has vanished away and come to nothing. And have not some of you grown worse and worse while the word has been sown among you, rather than better? Are you not worse than you would have been, if you had never heard the word? Many times this is the case. If you cut trees off of land,

and do not plough it and kill the roots, it grows worse than it was before, in a few years, and often gets full of briers and thorns. So it may be with some of you. You are worse than those that never heard the word. If this is the case, the fault is not in the seed sown, but in your hearts.

All good folks in the country are looking on you, and inquiring about you, whether the word sown among you is fruitful. They will inquire of Mr. Edwards whether you have received the word into your hearts, and bring forth fruit in your lives. The good angels, that come down from heaven to earth, are looking on you, to see what effect the word has upon you; and news is carried to heaven about you, and it is there known whether the word sown brings forth good fruit. Christ is every day looking upon you, to see what effect his word has among you. Surely, then, it becomes you to inquire and see how this matter is. How must we answer this question? Does the word sown at Stockbridge grow and flourish, or is it all lost? Must it not be said there are a great many who receive the word no better than the highway does the seed, where it makes no impression at all? — that many that made a hopeful appearance, and promised to be good, are fallen away and come to nothing? I hope it can be said there is some good fruit; but who of you are fruitful, so as to be an honor to Christ and a credit to religion?

And now let me entreat you to hear the word and receive it into your hearts. He that has been sowing the word among you is gone, but we hope Christ will send another still to sow good seed among you. You ought to pray earnestly every day for this. But how will you pray heartily for this, if [you are not willing] to receive the word? You ought to be concerned, therefore, to get good hearts. Though you have never so good a minister, if you have no heart to receive and obey the word, he will do you no good. Yea, it would be better for you if you had never heard of Christ, than to hear and refuse to mind what he says to you. So St. Peter says, (2 Pet. ii. 21,) Christ will be exceeding angry with you, and cast you into hell, if you will not mind what he says; and you will be more tormented than those that never heard his gospel. The devil is trying to catch the word away, and hindering its laying hold of your hearts; and if you hearken to him once, he will have more power against you.

Sowing time will be over by and by; and they that bear good fruit, Christ will take to heaven, but the unfruitful he will burn in hell, as men burn briers and thorns. O, then, root every wicked thing out of your hearts. Cross and kill every lust. Pray earnestly to God, that he would make your hearts soft and good. God only can change the hearts of men, and make them good, and fit, like the good ground, for seed. If he does not change them, they will bring forth briers and thorns. Cry earnestly to God, then, for this mercy, as David did: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me."

Observation 1. Men may hear the word, may have it sown among them a great while, and yet get no good by it. The devil and their own wicked hearts may join to reject it all. Their hearts do not grow softer and better, but harder and more wicked, under the word. How sad is the case of such! They will be cast into a fire that never can be put out, and tormented by devils forever and ever. The devil will laugh at them, in hell, for being so foolish as not to mind what Christ said to them, and they will be angry at themselves and curse themselves for their own folly.

[Obs.] 2. Many may do a great deal in religion, and come to no good at last, but fall away when they are tempted, &c.

[Obs.] 3. The best way to know whether the word does good, is to see what fruit is brought forth.

[Obs.] 4. They who fall away when temptations come have reason to think they have no goodness. When they have no temptations, they will be very good, and resolve always to be so; but every time they come into temptation, they fall away. This is because goodness has no root in their hearts.

Men that have good hearts can resist temptation, and they [will remain good in spite of temptation]; but when the heart is not right, men will lose all their goodness in the time of temptation.

[Obs.] 5. The word of Christ and they that sow the word, are not to blame that men are not good, and do not bring forth fruit. They sow good seed, and it does not prosper because the heart is not good. If men sow good seed on bad ground, it will not grow, though they sow it never so well, and never so often. So it is with those that sow Christ's word. If it is sown in bad hearts, it will not grow and bring forth fruit; but wickedness will grow up and choke the word of Christ.

[Obs.] 6. They that hear the word are in great danger of going to hell. Most that hear the word live wickedly, and go to hell. You have all need to be afraid of this. You had need to be concerned to have your hearts made soft and [mellow],* that the word may take root there, and bear fruit to eternal life.

Sect. XIV. SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

It must not be supposed, that while his parishioners at Housatonick remained poor, and ignorant, and fearful of savage invaders, their pastor was deprived of all congenial society. He was regular in meeting the clergy at Yale College commencement. Sometimes he attended the election at Boston, where he had several wealthy friends. Often we find David Brainerd coming to see him; sleeping with him, preaching for him, etc. Often we find Hopkins at his uncle's parsonage in West Springfield. Still oftener we read, in his Journal, such notices as the following:

"Northampton, July 23, 1743. Am kindly received by Mr. Edwards and his family. Made Miss Jerusha a present of a Bible. Mr. Edwards is desirous that I would preach for him part of the day to-morrow, but I cannot be willing.

"Sunday, July 24, 1743. Heard Mr. Edwards preach all day. I have been very dull and senseless; much discouraged about preaching. Hearing Mr. Edwards makes me ashamed of myself. — Brookfield, Thursday, May 24, 1744. Set out to-day from Northampton for Boston, in company with Madam Edwards and her daughter, who rides behind me [on horseback]. We lodge at Colonel Dwight's, at Brookfield;" [afterwards the well-known General D., of Great Barrington.]

After Mr. Edwards had removed to Stockbridge, and was within about one hour's ride from Mr. Hopkins, we read, on almost every page of the Journal, such notices as these:

"Bethlem, October 13, 1754. Mr. Edwards not being able to travel, I am yet with him at Mr. Bellamy's. — Friday, October 18. Having done my business at Waterbury, and Mr. Edwards continuing to have a severe fit every day, I left Mr. Edwards at Waterbury, and set out homewards to-day. Lodge at Mr. Bellamy's. — Thursday, August 28. This day being attended as a public Fast, Mr. Bellamy preached for me all day. I believe there is not a better preacher in America, on all accounts. — August 30. Rode with Mr. Bellamy yesterday to Stockbridge. — February 12, 1755. Mr. Bellamy came to my house last Tuesday, with whom I went to Stockbridge, and staid there two

* Some of the words enclosed in brackets, throughout this discourse, were left by Dr. Hopkins in cipher. They are here inserted, after a careful comparison of his short hand with the context, and with his own glossary.

nights and one day to hear Mr. Edwards read a treatise upon the *Last End of God in the Creation of the World.* Returned home to-day. Mr. Bellamy came with me, &c.

"March 9. Went to Stockbridge to-day to borrow some books, and returned.

"September 2, 1756. Rode to Stockbridge to-day on an important secret errand, and returned. — September 3. Mr. Edwards and Madam, and their son Timothy, at my house to-day."

These and similar records have a theological value. Many of them show that, in regard to their professional literature, Hopkins, Bellamy, and Edwards "had all things common;" and each was in the habit of loaning to the others all the books, pamphlets, theological epistles, which they desired to borrow; that they were also in the habit of submitting to each other's criticism the manuscripts which they intended to publish.

"In one instance," says Dr. Patten, "from some inconvenience in consulting Mr. H., he [Mr. Edwards] published a work without his [Hopkins's] previous inspection. After it was in print, he inquired of Mr. H. if he saw in it any thing objectionable. Mr. H. replied by asking him if he had considered such a particular proposition in the work. Mr. E. answered that he had not; that it was a current expression among divines. Wherein was it not correct? Mr. H. pointed out an objection, which Mr. Edwards immediately perceived and acknowledged, and remarked, 'I am sorry that you did not see the manuscript; but this I promise, that I will never publish another book without showing the manuscript to you, if you are in life.'

"Long after this, Dr. Hopkins observed to the writer, that the very few errors of Mr. Edwards's writings were owing to the fact that "some things were taken for granted as true, because they had appeared in the earlier writings of divines, and in creeds. They were admitted as first principles, which, as to correctness, required no examination."*

Before Dr. Bellamy published his "True Religion Delineated," Dr. Patten says that Bellamy "requested Mr. Hopkins to make him a visit of two or three days, that he might attend to the manuscript, and make his remarks upon it. When Dr. B. had proceeded some way in reading, Mr. H. said, 'Stop.' 'Why,' said Dr. B., 'what is there here?' 'I would not, for five hundred dollars,' replied Mr. H., 'publish that sentence, with the sanction of my name to it.' 'But it is a quotation from Edwards,' said Dr. B. 'I know it, but it is wrong.' 'We are brought to a strange pass, indeed, if we cannot adopt the sentiments of Edwards!' The quotation referred to self-love. It had been the opinion of divines, that the self-love of the natural man is sinful only in its excess; that in regeneration it is brought down to its proper level in principle; like a fire, which, unrestrained, spreads over the house, but is useful when reduced to burn on the hearth. This opinion, as a matter of course, and without examination, had been adopted by Mr. Edwards. The criticism of Mr. H. was, that in the exercises of one who is not sanctified, there is nothing holy; that holiness depends on the nature of the exercise, and not on the degree in which it is exercised; that the love of the sinner for himself has nothing of that love which the law requires, more than his love for God or his neighbor; as his love for God has nothing of the nature of loving him with all his heart, and as his love for his neighbor has nothing of the nature of loving his neighbor as himself, so his love for himself has nothing of the nature of loving himself as he does his neighbor; that in regeneration he has but one love, which is new in each of these relations. Dr. B. admitted the justice of

* Reminiscences, pp. 41, 42.

the criticism, and corrected that part of his work. And during the examination, both entirely concurred in approving of that which was published. This distinction of the new love which one is brought to exercise for himself in regeneration, Mr. H. considered as having occurred to him without meeting with it in any commentator, and as more original in this sense than any other doctrine in his system." *

As Bellamy confided in the criticisms of Hopkins, so did Hopkins confide in the criticisms of Bellamy; and writes to him very frequently in a style like the following: "July 9, 1750. The enclosed letters to Dr. Mayhew lay themselves at your feet and wait your sanction. Please to say whether either of them shall be sent. If one, which? And with what corrections and emendations? Please to give the sanction, *et cris mihi magnus Apollo.*" More than once he sends his manuscripts to Bellamy with such deferential words as, "From your sentence there will be no appeal." Beautiful, indeed, was this mutual confidence of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins in each other.

Mr. Edwards lived nearly seven years within seven miles from his beloved pupil. When he was invited to the Presidency of the College of New Jersey, Hopkins was the leading member of the council which advised him to accept the invitation. It has often been said, that if Hopkins had expressed a different opinion, that invitation would have been rejected. With his usual disinterestedness, he parted with his revered teacher.

"When the council," he says, "published their judgment and advice to Mr. Edwards and his people, he appeared uncommonly moved and affected with it, and fell into tears on the occasion, which was very unusual for him in the presence of others, and soon after said to the gentlemen who had given their advice, that it was matter of wonder to him that they could, so easily as they appeared to do, get over the objections he had made against his removal to be the head of a college, which appeared great and weighty to him. But as he thought it his duty to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavor cheerfully to undertake it, believing he was in the way of his duty." †

In less than three months after this result of the council, Edwards was in his grave. The death of so dear a friend had a depressing influence upon Hopkins, whose temper was too despondent. He became more and more distressed with the fear, that he had sinned in advising the removal to Princeton. Its calamitous issue was unwisely interpreted into a sign of its original wrongfulness.

Sect. XV. STUDIOUS LIFE AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

Having a giant frame, he could endure a great amount of severe mental application. His plain diet and his rural abode aided him in his intellectual processes. True, the fever and ague and other dis-

* Reminiscences, pp. 49, 50.
† Hopkins's Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, p. 94.

cases of the wilderness shattered his system, as also that of President Edwards; but he retained vigor enough to rise above his maladies, and says, in his seventy-fifth year:

"My bodily constitution, I believe, has been much better than most of those who live a sedentary life. In the former part of my life, indeed, from the twenty-first to the thirty-fifth or fortieth year of my age, my constitution was rather slender and infirm, but not so as to prevent my attending to business and my study, as much or more than is common among ministers. Since that time of life, my constitution has been better, and I have enjoyed generally a good state of bodily health, and have been able to study fourteen and frequently eighteen hours in a day, generally rising at four o'clock in the morning, or between four and five, especially in the winter season. I have had several fits of sickness, in which I have been brought very low, and have been thought by my friends to be near death; but these ill turns have not broken my constitution, but have appeared to be the means of my better health, as this has generally been the consequence; and I now enjoy more bodily ease, health, and strength than is common to men of my age." *

Dr. Patten says, that "probably, with his portion of the patrimonial estate," he obtained "a decent but commodious dwelling-house, and thirty or forty acres of land, [about a mile from his meeting-house.] The land he brought under the best cultivation, and as the soil was good, it was very luxuriant in its productions. He cultivated trees, especially apples, which he grafted with a great variety of the best of this species of fruit." Dr. Patten adds, that these "labors and cares engrossed much of his attention, and interfered with his studies and ministerial duties." † That there may have been a few instances of such interference, is possible. There are many testimonies and incidents, however, which prove that he *usually* labored on his farm less than his health required; and that his literary progress was aided, rather than impeded, by his muscular exercise. Indeed, a subsequent remark of Dr. Patten affords physiological evidence that this very period of Hopkins's life was marked by his sedentary habits, and that he ought to have been longer out of doors, so as to have required more generous repasts. He was, says Dr. Patten, "very temperate in his diet, breakfasting and supping on bread and milk, from a bowl containing about three gills, never varying from that quantity, whether his appetite required more or not so much. He thought that this regularity of eating tended to render his appetite uniform, and to confirm his health." ‡ The Journal and correspondence of Mr. Hopkins show him to have been far more deeply interested in politics than in his farm. Indeed, there are very few instances of his even alluding to his pecuniary affairs; and these few are exceptions, which prove that his *rule* was, to look above the earth. The following is one allusion:

"Friday, January 20, 1744. Have spent this week but poorly hitherto. Have been making a clock-reel, which seems not to be my business. I can-

* Sketches, etc., p. 84. † Reminiscences, pp. 30, 31, 33. ‡ Ib. p. 33.

not live to any profit, unless I live free from the world. I design never to undertake such a piece of business again, under the circumstances I am now in."

The uniform testimony of his survivors, who once knew him, is, that during the last thirty-three years of his life, he did not, from January to December, take so much as an hour's exercise, except on parochial business, or in journeying; and that his *confirmed* habits were those of a reader and writer. From these later usages, we may infer his earlier; and may presume that he would have studied more effectively at Great Barrington, if he had spent more time than he did spend among his apple-trees. Nothing would have sooner cured him from complaining of his discourses as "senseless," than the performance of a daily work on his "thirty or forty acres."

The common impression is, that the studies of Hopkins were chiefly metaphysical. What if they were? They were not entirely so. He was a diligent reader of commentaries, particularly of Poole's Synopsis. He read through the whole of Poole's five folios in Latin. He commented three several times on every chapter of the Bible in his expository discourses; and this extensive exposition required of him, what he pursued, a diligent perusal of the critics. He had not been ordained much more than two years, before he, with Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Sheffield, and Rev. Mr. Sergeant, of Stockbridge, formed a plan for each to study and comment upon the Epistle to the Galatians, and to present his Commentary to the other two for criticism. Mr. Hopkins's Exposition is still preserved, with Mr. Sergeant's Review of it. Among the authors which are most familiarly mentioned by him, are Calvin and Van Mastricht, (both of whom he studied in their original Latin,) Saurin, Owen, Manton, Goodwin, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, Prideaux, Sharp, Matthew Henry, John Locke, Whitby, Dr. S. Clark, Dr. John Taylor, Mosheim, Doddridge, etc., etc. Nothing, then, can be more inaccurate, than to affirm that he restricted himself to metaphysics. Few, if any, clergymen of his day were so conversant with the various criticisms upon the sacred text. Upon that text he aimed to form his theological system. He once remarked to Dr. Tenney,* "that there was not a passage in all the Scriptures which had not been the subject of his particular meditation; nor one, the meaning of which he had not endeavored, by his own reflections and the aid of commentators, to understand."

* See Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 146.

Sect. XVI. DOMESTIC LIFE AND FAMILY AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

In less than a year after his ordination, Hopkins began to be severely afflicted. He writes:

"Waterbury, December 5, 1744. Received news this morning that my mother lay at the point of death yesterday morning. Set out towards noon, and got to Waterbury about bed-time, where I received the sorrowful news of my mother's death. Came to my father's house; — find it in mournful circumstances; — no mother to welcome me home, as she was wont to do. — December 5. This day my dear mother departed this life, about one o'clock in the afternoon; by whose death God has touched me in the most tender place. She was, in many respects, nearer and dearer to me than any other relation, and was one that had the most tender and affectionate love for me, which she abundantly expressed by words and actions. My natural affection now shows itself; and though I am sensible of no murmurings, yet I can't but mourn. Some time ago, I was especially concerned for my mother, and my thoughts ran particularly upon her, which was the occasion of my writing the following letter to her, which she received about three weeks before her death:

"'Kind Mother: . . . . . I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and thankfulness for all your care for and kindness to me, which is very great, which I hope I am in some measure sensible of, and never shall forget it; yet I know I am in a great degree unthankful, and have reason to be ashamed of my misimprovement of what I have received of my parents. I desire to see the hand of God in it, and hope that it is both for your advantage and mine, that your hearts have been thus opened to me, and that God will reward you for your trouble and expense of temporal or carnal things, by bestowing upon you spiritual and saving blessings, which are infinitely better; and that your end in it, so far as it has been good, will be answered by my being made a great blessing in my station and calling, for which I desire the continuance of your prayers. — I am engaged in a difficult work, and how difficult it is you never will know, because it can be known only by experience. My business is with the souls of men, and therefore I am called to unwearied diligence, and my time seems more precious than theirs who labor for this world's goods. — I wish I might say something, before I end this letter, that might tend to your spiritual edification. O, think of eternity. It is just at hand. We shall shortly be in it. I cannot bear to think of parting with you forever; but it must be, unless we are both truly religious. The things of religion are as real and certain as they were two or three years ago, though, alas! the land is asleep. I am, dear mother, your obliged, dutiful son, Sam'l. Hopkins.

"'Sheffield, October 22, 1744.'

"Methinks the hand of God is to be seen in this thing, in that I should send her a letter at this time, though I never sent one particularly to her before. I desire to be thankful that I was then led to express my thankfulness to her, seeing I had no opportunity to do it face to face.

"December 6. Attended the funeral of my deceased mother. Doubtless we had many to mourn with us. O that I might mourn aright, and suitably improve God's dealings towards me and my father's family! — Attended a lecture after the funeral. Mr. Levinworth preached upon the great duty of resignation to God's will, from those words, 2 Kings iv. 26. — Returned home to my father's house, and find it as it were empty. — Sunday, December 9. Was called up this morning with news that my young brother was dying. I got up, prayed with it, and baptized it. After that, it had some revival. I left it and went to meeting; — received the sacrament, and preached in the afternoon from Psalm xxxix. 4. Had no great sense of things, though some freedom in preaching. Came home and found my brother dead, and my brother's wife, to all appearance, taken just as my mother was before she died. O that God would sanctify his dealings to this family! Surely he is frowning upon us.

"Monday, December 10. Attended the funeral of my young brother. He was about three weeks old when he died. Alas! I am a stupid, senseless creature."

Mr. Hopkins preached more than four years at Great Barrington, previously to his marriage. A matrimonial engagement, which he had formed at Northampton, was broken off in a way honorable, but afflictive to himself. Another, which he formed at Great Barrington, was equally inauspicious. "He paid his addresses," says Dr. Patten,* "to a young woman interesting in her appearance and manners, and of a bright intellect, who was also rather a belle in the place. She favored his suit, and, so far as appeared, there was a mutual attachment, and the time of their marriage was not far distant. But a former lover, who had been absent some time, returned, with the design of renewing his attentions, and, by indirect or explicit manifestations of it, excited in her the expectation of an offer to be his wife. These intimations engaged her affection, and when he made known to her his disappointment and his desire, she frankly disclosed the truth to Mr. Hopkins, and assured him, 'that however much she respected and esteemed him, she could not fulfil her engagement to him from the heart.' This, he said, was a trial, a very great trial; but, as she had not designed to deceive him in the encouragements she had given him, he could part with her in friendship."

At length, on January 13, 1748, he was married to Miss Joanna Ingersol, daughter of Moses Ingersol, of Great Barrington. Dr. Patten says of her,† "She was delicate in her person and features, of a sprightly disposition, intelligent, possessing great decision of character, and apparently a Christian." Her constitutional tendencies were consumptive. During the last twenty years of her married life, she was an intense sufferer. About the year 1786, her physical pains were so great as to occasion a temporary insanity. In less than a year, she recovered the tone of her mind, but still her distressing maladies remained a source of deep grief to her husband. The evenness, patience, and unwavering benevolence of his temper were a great solace to her amid her afflictions. He "never retired to study," says Dr. Patten,‡ "or indulged in rest," till he had made every provision for her comfort which kindness could suggest."

In one year from his marriage, he was again bereaved. He writes:

"February 4, 1749. Reached my father's house late in the night. Find my father very sick, and two brothers and two sisters, with the measles. My father knew me, and asked me why I was so long in coming; told me he sent for me that I might see him once more before he died, [and] asked me if I did not think he was dying. I told him no. I asked him if he was willing to die. His answer was such as gave me great concern for him. I was quickly willing to part with him, if he might but give me evidence of his comfortable hope in Christ, before he died; but was soon brought to give up this

* Reminiscences, pp. 31, 32. † Ib. p. 23. ‡ Ib. p. 113.

point, if he might but have a saving interest in Christ, and the comfort of it in his own soul, which my soul longed for; and I was enabled to seek God earnestly on his behalf, having my mouth filled with arguments; and after all, was obliged to resign, and acknowledge God to be the sovereign potter, having a right to do what he would, and that he could do no wrong.

"February 5. We apprehend my father is dying. I made two prayers with him. He, having been some time before speechless, revived a little, and said *he had more hope now*, referring to the discourse I had with him before. These were almost the last words which he spake, and the most comfortable. I had some views of the infinity of God's mercy, and expressed it in prayer, and hope his soul felt it."

The mother of Hopkins died at the age of about forty-three years; the father, at the age of fifty-seven. Samuel was the executor of his father's will. Ultimately, the education of his three youngest brothers was devolved upon himself. He took them to his house, and fitted them all to enter college. In so doing, he performed a good service to the State. His brother James was admitted to Yale College in 1753, when he was twenty-one years old. In less than a twelvemonth, however, he died at New Haven. Samuel hastened to his death-bed, grieved, but submissive.

Daniel, the next brother, educated by Samuel, entered Yale College in 1754, and was graduated in 1758. He interested himself in the early struggles of his country for independence, and is said to have received some peculiar marks of confidence from General Washington. He was a member of the Colonial Congress, and in that capacity signed large quantities of the Continental paper-money. One who knew him well says:

"He was ordained pastor of the Third Congregational Church at Salem, Massachusetts, in the year 1778,* and he remained over the same church until the day of his death, in December, 1814. He was a discriminating, faithful, and interesting preacher, a devoted and excellent pastor, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the affection of his people, and the respect of the community. His theological opinions agreed with those of his brother Samuel, except on the subject of submission; and there he differed chiefly, if not wholly, on the mode in which his brother explained it. He entered deeply into the theological speculations of his brother, and was acknowledged by that divine to have originally suggested his argument on the Doings of the Unregenerate. Mr. John Norris, the benefactor of Andover Theological Seminary, was, with his wife, during many years, a member of Dr. Daniel Hopkins's congregation, and they were strongly attached to him until the day of their death.† Mr. Norris was also very strongly attached to the theological system of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, and testified his respect to him by giving to one of his [Dr. H.'s] granddaughters a permanent home in his [Mr. N.'s] own family." Other intimate friends of Mr. Norris say that he "became acquainted with Dr. Samuel Hopkins during the frequent visits of the latter to Salem, and often made him valuable presents." An inmate of his family writes that Mr. Norris "often conversed on the Hopkinsian doctrines, and seemed to take great pleasure in the thought that they were to be taught at Andover."

* He is said to have been introduced to that church by his brother Samuel, who had preached a number of weeks at Salem, in 1766 and 1767.

† Mr. Norris died December 22, 1808, aged fifty-seven years. Mrs. Norris died March 21, 1811, aged fifty-four years.

But the subject of this Memoir expended his greatest care upon Mark, his younger brother. When Mark was in his tenth year, he became a member of Samuel's family, and continued such about five years, until he entered college. He was a classmate at Yale with his brother Daniel, and with Silas Deane. He commenced the practice of law about 1761, at Great Barrington, and resided about ten years a near neighbor of Samuel, who had trained him for usefulness. He was eminent in his profession. He instructed many law students, and among them the celebrated Judge Theodore Sedgwick. In 1765, he married Electa Sergeant, a daughter of the well-known Stockbridge missionary. He left four sons and one daughter. Archibald, his oldest son, was the father of President Mark Hopkins, and Professor Albert Hopkins, of Williams College. In the revolutionary war, Colonel Mark Hopkins distinguished himself as a patriot. He entered the army; was taken sick with a fever at White Plains, and died there, October 26, 1776, only two days before the memorable battle at that place. He was thirty-seven years of age at the time of his death.

Dr. Hopkins also educated for practical life two of his brothers-in-law. He had five sons and three daughters, all born in Great Barrington. He was reserved before his children, methodical and strict in his discipline, yet remarkably free from a morose and irritating treatment of them. His attachment to them and to his grandchildren was deep, and they all felt an unbounded reverence for him. As a father, he belonged to the old school. A single incident, narrated by one * who lived, for a time, in the family of Mr. Hopkins, will let us into the general course of things in the parsonage of Great Barrington. "In his strict attention to the Sabbath, he [Mr. H.] excelled the most of devout Christians. From evening to evening he celebrated the Christian Sabbath; and to impress his own mind, and the mind of his family with the importance of observing holy time, he uniformly, at sunset, introduced and concluded the exercises of the Sabbath by family prayer. This domestic signal of holy time, he found, by long experience, to be attended with peculiar advantage."

His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, received much of her education in Boston. She was an accomplished lady, and an engaging Christian. She married Dr. John Sibley, a man of wealth, of eminence in his profession, and of extensive usefulness. In his early life, he was a surgeon of the revolutionary army, and distinguished himself by his patriotic spirit. After the close of the war, he removed to Fayetteville, North Carolina, at which place Mrs. Sibley died, October 25, 1790, leaving two sons. Of late years, their descendants have resided chiefly in Missouri and Louisiana. Several members

* Dr. Samuel Spring. See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 363.

of their family belong to the United States army, and have been recently brevetted for their achievements in our late Mexican war. His second daughter, Mrs. Joanna Fisher, of Medway, Massachusetts, died June 15, 1786. Her father says of her: She was "a peculiarly dear and amiable child," and appeared to be "graciously prepared for heaven." She left one daughter, who subsequently resided with Dr. Hopkins. — His third daughter, Rhoda, wife of the excellent Captain John Anthony, of Newport, was also an exemplary Christian. She lived in the house with her father, relieving him throughout the prolonged sickness of her mother, but, deeply to his grief, died, September 22, 1792, in her twenty-seventh year. She left one child.

His oldest son, General David Hopkins, was a man of large property and influence, near Baltimore, in Maryland, where he died, leaving several children. — Dr. Hopkins's second son, Moses, was a highly respected magistrate and yeoman, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was eminent for his strength of mind and his sterling virtue. He had nine children, and many of his descendants are now useful members of society. Having been county register more than fifty years, he died at the age of eighty-four. — Dr. Hopkins's third son, Levi, was a member of Princeton College two years or more, but was compelled to leave, through ill health. He subsequently lived and died in Virginia. He left six children. — Dr. Hopkins's fourth son, Samuel, resided on the homestead at Great Barrington, was a thriving farmer, and left three children. — The fifth son, Daniel, died in Maryland, in 1788, at the age of twenty-four. — The personal appearance of these eight children is said to have indicated a strong and decided character. They were all well instructed. Some of them inherited the frail constitution of their mother.

Sect. XVII. INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC MEN.

In the preceding section has been disclosed the formative power exerted by Hopkins on several noted individuals related to him by blood. He was a still more conspicuous benefactor to the world, in moulding the character of a few other individuals, related to him by a spiritual affinity.

The first of these is Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, President of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., a divine who will be honored in succeeding ages, for having given so much of its present excellence to the New England theology. It has been said that he, more than Dr. Hopkins himself, was the father of the Hopkinsian system. He was certainly not so in all respects. Nearly all of the following narrative is from Dr. Patten: *

* Reminiscences, pp. 45–47. See also Ferguson's Life of Hopkins, pp. 53, 54. The same relation, for substance, has been given by various other persons acquainted with Drs. Edwards and Hopkins.

"When Edwards was in his twenty-first year, and had been graduated at Princeton College, 'he had not examined the theological system adopted by his father, but objected strenuously, and with much confidence, to some of its leading doctrines. Mr. Hopkins, from regard to his [Edwards's] father, and concern, as well as affection, for the son, invited him to make his house his home for the winter, offering him a room with a fire, and every facility that he could give him in the pursuit of his studies; and, as a particular motive, mentioned that he had the manuscripts of his father, which he would have opportunity to peruse.

"Young Mr. E., without much persuasion, accepted the offer. He was amiable in his temper, but prompt and self-opinionated. Mr. H. soon put into his hands a manuscript of his father's, maintaining a doctrine which he had controverted. When he had read it, he brought forward objections which he appeared to think conclusive. But Mr. H. attempted to correct his misapprehensions, and to explain and strengthen, by additional proof, the arguments of his father. Young Mr. E. was not convinced, though his zeal was in some measure abated. He retired for reflection and the adjustment of his ideas, expecting to bring new force in the morning. But in the next conversation he became more embarrassed, and found that the subject required a deeper investigation than he had ever paid to it. Under a conviction of his conscience, he became docile as a child, and made rapid proficiency in that belief in doctrines for which he could give a reason." "He ever retained a filial respect and affection for Mr. Hopkins, and contributed to his support when he feared he might be in want, and Mr. H. felt a kind of pride in him as a son. In the hearing of the writer, when some one was highly praising Dr. E., Mr. H. said, 'Me make him,' alluding to an aged Indian minister, who used this expression on hearing a young Indian preacher commended, who was very popular, and who had been brought up under his instruction." *

The second individual on whom Hopkins exerted a formative influence, and through whom he has made a deep impress on the public, is Rev. Dr. Stephen West, the successor of President Edwards at Stockbridge. He was ordained on the 13th day of June, 1759, and "has been heard to acknowledge, that for eight years he attempted to preach a Saviour whom he knew not." † He was a decided opposer of the doctrines which President Edwards had

* "Dr. Edwards was graduated in September, 1765, and after a very short visit at Stockbridge, went the same autumn to Dr. Hopkins's, at Great Barrington, and remained there through the winter, till the next July; and then went to Dr. Bellamy, with whom he remained till October of the same year, when he was licensed by the Litchfield Association." So writes Bellamy's biographer, who has also communicated the following letter of introduction, sent by Hopkins to Bellamy, at the time of young Edwards's going to complete his studies at Bethlem: "July 7, 1766. Sir Edwards [this was the usual designation of the young men studying with Dr. Bellamy and Dr. Hopkins] will, I hope, get a great deal of good at your house. He will take it kindly if you converse with him particularly about his personal religion, and act the part of a father to him, in freely giving him your best counsel and advice. He is, I think, an honest, conscientious lad, and in consequence of my kind treatment of him, he trusts in me as a father. He has a high taste for good speaking, and will be of service to your pupils with respect to this, if you promote the matter. I would humbly propose that every day, or frequently, at least, some time should be spent in *pronouncing*, by reading some book, or their own composition; and let them correct each other, or stand corrected by you." When Samuel Hopkins requests Joseph Bellamy to discipline Jonathan Edwards in elocution, our young ministers may well begin to discipline themselves.

† Dr. Alvan Hyde's Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Rev. Stephen West, D. D., p. 9.

advocated; but being inquisitive, critical, studious, he cultivated an intimacy, and sought frequent opportunities for discussion with Hopkins, his clerical neighbor. He first studied the subjects on which he intended to converse, and then visited that neighbor, with a fond expectation of subduing him in the argument. Day after day, however, he rode back discomfited. Still, day after day, he renewed his onset; until, at length, Hopkins made one of his strong appeals to the moral sensibility of West. The appeal was decisive. "Convicted in conscience that he stood as a blind leader of the blind, he [West] was brought to a solemn pause. His solicitude was great, and his compunctions for sin were powerful and indescribable."* Soon, however, he began to see the consistency of doctrines which he had previously imagined to be irreconcilable. He rejoiced in the truth. He changed his style of discourse. A revival of religion followed the change. During his subsequent ministry, his preaching was attended with five other revivals. He admitted to his church five hundred and four apparent Christians, retained for fifty-nine years the pastoral care of an intelligent people, wrote more than three thousand sermons, published nineteen books, and instructed many students in theology. President Kirkland, Dr. Hyde, Dr. Catlin, and Dr. Samuel Spring, were his theological pupils. He was a Coryphæus of Hopkinsianism. As the pastor of Great Barrington exerted a controlling influence over Dr. West, so West had great power over Samuel Spring; and this is the divine who accomplished more than any one man for the establishment of Andover Theological Seminary.

Dr. Spring, however, pursued his theological studies not altogether with Dr. West, but partly also with Dr. Hopkins himself; and, according to one account, with Dr. Bellamy and Dr. Witherspoon likewise. He was a profound admirer of Hopkins, paid frequent and reverential visits to him as long as he lived, was related to him by marriage, and received from him in personal intercourse, as well as through the medium of Dr. West, that influence which he intended to transfuse, as far as the moderate Calvinists who formed a "union" with him would allow, into his cherished seminary. Here is another point of indirect communication between Hopkins and a seminary which began its existence nearly five years after his death.†

A third individual, over whom the minister of Great Barrington exercised a decisive influence, was Rev. David Sanford, of Medway, Massachusetts. This gentleman "had at an early age received a

* Dr. Hyde's Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Dr. West, pp. 7, 8.

† Dr. Patten gives an account of Hopkins's agency in transforming the life of West; but the fullest account is given in Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp. 46–52. See also the Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Dr. West, by Rev. Dr. Alvan Hyde, of Lee, Massachusetts. When it is said that West and Spring were Hopkinsians, it is meant that they were Hopkinsians of the Emmons type.

liberal education. The intention of his parents was, to prepare him for the ministry; but being destitute of religion when he arrived at manhood, his attention was directed to agriculture. As a farmer, he was located in the town of which Mr. Hopkins was the minister. They married sisters. But although thus nearly related, Mr. Sanford was a bitter opposer of the religion and preaching of his brother Hopkins. To him the preaching of Mr. Hopkins appeared contemptible and foolish; and on this ground he justified himself in giving only an occasional attendance on his ministry. But although he thus sought to justify his neglect of the instituted means of grace, his conscience was by no means easy. As an evidence of his state of mind at this time, and the rankling opposition of his heart, he afterwards mentioned, that while at work on his farm, on removing a log which had become imbedded in the ground, his attention was directed to a number of [interesting] and to him uncommon animalcules. After observing them for a moment, he thus expressed the rankling feelings of his heart: 'Hopkins says that nothing was made in vain, and for what were you made?' At the same moment crushing them beneath his feet, he continued, 'There, that is what you were made for.' 'Yes,' said a voice within, which spoke the language of conscience, 'they were made to show forth the enmity of your heart against God.'"*

In this state of hostility to his pastor's theological opinions, it became necessary for him to have frequent interviews with Mr. Hopkins, in reference to some property which was to be divided between their respective wives. Mr. Sanford was determined to irritate, if possible, the minister who was so much noted for his equable temper. He longed for one victory over that Christian patience. Aiming at this result, he proposed such a division of the property as was glaringly unjust to Mrs. Hopkins, and he accompanied his proposal with biting raillery and sarcasm. He succeeded in his plot. Hopkins was excited, and, late in the evening, left his brother's house in anger. But he was unused to such irritation. He soon became ashamed of it. He could not sleep at all during the night. The next morning was very cold, but at an early hour Mr. Sanford looked out of his chamber window, and saw the injured man approaching. On entering the house, Mr. Hopkins requested that the family might be called together; and when all were convened, he acknowledged his resentful words during the last evening's interview, implored forgiveness for them, and consented to any reasonable division of the property which his brother might propose. Mr. Sanford was overwhelmed. He knew that he had inveigled the unsuspecting Christian

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 41, seq. The remainder of the narrative is taken from Ferguson, Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 50–53, and from the private correspondence of several gentlemen who were familiar with the scene. In substance, all the narratives agree, but differ somewhat in form.

into the resentment of the last evening; he knew that he had given him reason to be indignant; and, although he had felt a transgressor's triumph during the night, he was now assured, by this humble confession, that a pious heart is nobler than worldly tact. He never forgot that morning's visit. He spoke of it till his dying day. Under the influence of it, he became a man of God. His father, (who was a friend of David Brainerd, and named this son in honor of that pious missionary,) had originally designed him for the sacred office, and had once sent him to pursue his theological course with Dr. Bellamy. The son, however, then felt his unfitness for the work, and soon relinquished the preparative study. But now he recommenced the delightful preparation. For thirty-seven years he satisfied and delighted one of the largest churches in Massachusetts. He became a theological author and teacher. He was honored as an instrument of many religious revivals. He has now several descendants in the ministry. He was an intimate friend of Samuel Spring and Nathanael Emmons. The latter divine, unused to extravagant praise, says of him: *

"The Author of nature endowed Mr. Sanford with a rich variety of rare and superior talents. He possessed a quick apprehension, a clear and sound judgment, a lively imagination, and an uncommon knowledge of human nature. These intellectual powers, sanctified by divine grace, fitted him to shine with peculiar lustre in every branch of his ministerial office. But perhaps he appeared to the best advantage as a speaker, for which his body, as well as his mind, was peculiarly formed. He had a piercing eye, a significant countenance, a majestic appearance, and a strong, clear, melodious voice, which he was able to modulate with ease and propriety. I know no man, of any profession, in the circle of my acquaintance, who surpassed him in natural eloquence. He was able to move any passion which he wished to move, whether love or hatred, hope or fear, joy or sorrow. He knew every avenue to the human heart, and could make the deepest impressions upon it."

It was often said, that if Hopkins had possessed the oratorical gifts of his brother-in-law, he would have been another Whitefield. But although destitute of Whitefield's power, Hopkins would have been a benefactor to his race, if he had done no more for them than that which he did through the medium of the eminent divines just named. How few have accomplished more than the younger Edwards in exhibiting the truths of the Bible, free from the admixtures of a false and bewildering metaphysics.

One secret of the power which the subject of this Memoir wielded over his theological adversaries, lay in his general self-possession. When past the age of fourscore years, he confessed to his friend Dr. C. J. Tenney, that in his early life he had found it difficult to

* See Emmons's Works, vol. i. p. 341. A Discourse at the Funeral of Rev. David Sanford, A. M., Medway, who died April 7, 1810, aged 73. See also Dr. Emmons's Discourse at the Funeral of Mrs. Bathsheba Sanford, wife of Rev. D. Sanford, and sister of Mrs. Dr. Hopkins; Works, vol. iii. pp. 9–18.

preserve an even temper; but he added: "For more than thirty years [referring to his interview with Mr. Sanford], I have not felt an angry emotion, nor do I think it probable that I shall ever feel another." It was this command over himself which gave him his command over others. His equanimity qualified him for successful debate. He was wont to hear his opponents patiently, and when they had stated all their objections without being interrupted by him, he would make his calm, but sometimes pithy reply. Dr. West, who knew, for he had keenly felt, the power of Hopkins's logic, makes the following ingenuous, and, in itself, very probable statement: *

"Honored as I was with his friendship, I may be liable to prejudice; but, on long and intimate acquaintance, it has appeared to me that he possessed a *candor of mind* which is rarely to be found. Men of the first abilities and acquirements, like others, are apt to be tenacious of opinions they have once imbibed. Having formed them, as they apprehend, on mature thought and deliberation, they soon become possessed of a prejudice unfavorable to light and evidence which might correct them. Rare it was, that any one was capable of detecting an error in the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins on moral and religious subjects. But he was remarkably open to conviction, whenever evidence was exhibited of the incorrectness of any of his opinions. Truth appeared to be so much the object of his search, that he discovered an unusual readiness to admit it, from whatever quarter it came; and that even though he might find error in himself detected by it. Did we all search the Scriptures without *any* prepossession or prejudice, we should undoubtedly imbibe truth without error. As might be expected with such candor of mind, his manner, in verbal dispute, was unusually mild, fair, and moderate. Far from being overbearing, he ever gave every just advantage to his opponent, patiently hearing whatever he advanced in favor of his opinions, and giving him full opportunity to vindicate them by every argument he thought favorable. And as the Doctor had a happy talent of expressing his own arguments with peculiar perspicuity, by these means he often convinced and gained over his opposers; when, had his manner been austere and overbearing, however conclusive his arguments, the opposite party would have remained unconvinced, and received no benefit. He had a mind peculiarly formed for friendship, and appeared to be indeed the faithful friend. No one entered into greater nearness and intimacy of Christian friendship, or gave, or seemed to enjoy, greater pleasure in the society and friendship of Christians. And his unaffected ease and openness, together with the instructiveness of his conversation, were such as made his company greatly sought, and his friendship highly valued, by the lovers of religion and truth."

It was in view of such facts as those above recited, that Hopkins closed his Autobiography in 1796, with the words of joy:

"I have particular reason to be thankful and rejoice that I have been the means of the conversion of more than one who are now in the ministry, (which they themselves think is a fact,) and of enlightening and removing the prejudices of others, who were before in a great measure blind to those truths which they now see to be evident and important. May I not rejoice in this? And may I not hope 'to rejoice in the day of Christ that I have not run in vain, neither labored in vain?' May God have all the glory. Amen." †

* West's Sketches, etc. pp. xii.–xiv. † Ib. pp. 103, 104.

The influence of Dr. Hopkins on public men has been, of itself, enough to call forth the gratitude of posterity. Many of the most prominent individuals in the early benevolent operations of this century were his pupils or disciples. For instance, on the 28th of May, 1799, thirty-eight men formed the Massachusetts Missionary Society, of whom the greater part were firm Hopkinsians, and the first two names subscribed to the constitution of that society, were David Sanford and Daniel Hopkins. Dr. Emmons was the first, and Dr. Daniel Hopkins was the second president; Dr. Austin was the first secretary of the society. Dr. Emmons was the first preacher before it. Mr. Sanford and Dr. Daniel Hopkins were the first two on the list of trustees. Dr. Emmons, Mr. Sanford, Dr. Daniel Hopkins, and Dr. Spring were the first four on the editorial list of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, a periodical projected by the society in 1802, and in 1808 united with the Panoplist, and in 1817 merged into the Missionary Herald. The object of this society was, "to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among the *heathens*, as well as other people in the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom or never preached." Dr. Samuel Hopkins evinced the liveliest interest in it. His missionary spirit animated his disciples. He manifested this spirit in his intercourse with them, and in his public addresses: see particularly his "Farewell to the World." *

Sect. XVIII. GENERAL INFLUENCE IN THE COMMUNITY.

A parish minister is a city set on a hill. His light radiates over the surrounding vales. While Mr. Hopkins resided in Great Barrington, he gave a decided impulse to the formation of every Congregational church, beginning its existence at that period and in that neighborhood. For a quarter of a century, he did more than all others in establishing the new churches on the right basis, with regard to the Half Way Covenant.† In this particular he "fought a good fight" for modern Christians, some of whom, forgetting the conqueror, rejoice in the victory. He was regarded as a champion for the unpopular doctrine, that persons exhibiting no evidence of a renewed heart should not be admitted to the Lord's supper, and that persons not coming to the Lord's supper should not offer their children for baptism.‡ Having been urged by some of his friends

* It may here be mentioned, by the way, that the American Doctrinal Tract Society, which now publishes Dr. Hopkins's works, was at first formed exclusively by Hopkinsian divines.

† Testimony of Rev. Samuel Shepard, D. D., of Lenox, Massachusetts.

‡ Many clergyman, on ordaining councils, opposed the ordination of any candidate who adopted the Edwardean theory on this subject. Mr. Hopkins was often summoned to contend against them, in behalf of religious liberty. He sometimes came as near

in New Jersey to discourse on this subject in that colony, he writes, December 21, 1764:

"I am not clear that it is worth while or prudent to raise all that fire which will unavoidably be kindled up in the Jersey, for many miles round, both among ministers and people, if I should go and declare and inculcate my sentiments, in the present situation of affairs. Is it not a pity to break in upon that peace and harmony they now enjoy? I am sure, if it may and ought to be done, it is an ungrateful task. I should be stigmatized through all that world, as a *stiff*, rigid, imprudent mischief-maker; and all the ministers would sincerely wish me back to New England, if not to the moon. And what good would be done? The maxim our Saviour acted upon, (John xvi. 12,) is perhaps applicable to this case."

It is obvious, from his correspondence, that he was often consulted by clergymen in New Jersey with regard to their theological interests; and the following letter to Bellamy shows how important his services were regarded by some friends of the college at Princeton:

"Great Barrington, March 25, 1767. I have a number of letters to you from Jersey, which were brought by Mr. Timothy Edwards, [eldest son of the President,] last week. I don't send them with this, because I have no direct and safe opportunity, and because I expect to come myself and see you, the second Monday in April, (if God will.) I have letters from Messrs. Caldwell, McWhorter, Chapman, and Jonathan Edwards, importing that they, with a number of others, are now in high zeal about a professor of divinity at the college; that Mr. ——— is not chosen, nor generally esteemed fit for that place; that no way is yet provided for the support of one; that if they don't get one, and one of the right sort too, and equal to the business, the college will die a natural death; that some of the trustees of principal influence have been consulted, and they manifest an approbation of one of your friends in New England, from what they have heard of him, and encourage that he shall be undoubtedly chosen, if a support for him can be provided by subscription; that a larger subscription can be procured for him, than for any other. Therefore they have sent to him, to know if he will accept, if chosen, and to desire him not to put himself under any engagements inconsistent with this, till they can make a fair trial, which cannot be completed till next fall; to effect which, they now intend to pull every string and turn every stone; the subscription to be but for five or seven years at first, concluding that another can more easily be filled up, if needed, when that term expires, than a longer one can be procured now. They want to know whether 'tis probable any subscriptions for this design can be procured in New England, especially at Boston. And [they] want your judgment, advice, and assistance in the affair. They have engaged the messenger to treat with your friend more

as a man of his habitual tranquillity need come, to a loss of his patience with these men. One of the most impetuous sentences in his correspondence is the following: "July 8, 1756. I value a correspondence and intercourse with you, by writing and conversation, more than ever; as I have lately had an uncomfortable interview with three neighboring, senseless, stupid, wilful, ignorant, blind, illiterate, thoughtless, confident, suspicious, disdainful, —— (forgive me, dear sir; I have a great sense of it.) — He that says, '*I see*,' and yet is blind, has no sort of notion about seeing, and knows not what it means. How great and immovable is that blindness! I pray God to deliver me from such blindness and infatuation! I had need to look to myself, for I am charged with having no thoughts of my own, being wholly ——; with contradicting myself; with being so dark and confused as that I neither know myself, nor can any one else know what I mean or aim at, &c., &c."

particularly on the affair, than they could write; have [written] you on the head, I suppose, and tried to engage the messenger to go to you on his return; but he says he can't. Edwards writes, that all the officers at college are warmly engaged in the affair, &c. They are so sanguine, as to think the fall of the college and of the religious interest of all those provinces turns upon this affair. I write these hints, that your thoughts may perhaps be more ripe upon the head when I shall see you, which I hope will be in less than three weeks from this time. 'Tis thought that the proposed coalescence (perhaps it might be more properly called a *collision*) of the Old side and New, with respect to the college, must and will take place. And I think, if Dr. Witherspoon don't come, (and the Old side will hinder it if they can,) Dr. ——— will be President, and that this is what they are, *at bottom*, driving at. But this is conjecture." *

The name of the individual who was thus proposed for the Professorship of Divinity at Princeton may be easily conjectured. This proposal casts some light upon the statement of Dr. Patten, that after President Edwards's death, in 1758, Mr. Hopkins was named by some as the successor to the Presidency.

"But before the proposition was laid before the Board of Trustees, one of the members was requested to visit Mr. H., that by actual observation he might form an opinion of his qualifications for the office and station. Mr. H. had not the least apprehension of the object of the gentleman in making him a visit; but received him with great courtesy, and entertained him with liberal hospitality, not only according to his custom, but as he considered due to a gentleman of his standing, and a friend of Mr. E. This gentleman, on his return, reported unfavorably to the appointment, and assigned, as a reason, the country style in which Mr. H. lived, and the correspondence of his manners to such a state." †

For this statement, there is now, perhaps, no other authority than that of Dr. Patten; yet the assertion that Hopkins was a candidate for the vacant Presidency may seem not improbable, from the fact that some of the most active men in founding and sustaining the college at New Jersey (as, for instance, Hon. W. P. Smith and Rev. T. Arthur,) were the associates of Hopkins at Yale; and Governor William Livingston, one of its firm friends, was his classmate. The gentleman first appointed to succeed Edwards in the Presidency at Princeton was Rev. James Lockwood, a Connecticut minister, whose tendencies were to the New Divinity. Hopkins was not formed for such an office; but it is grateful to record that the

* After the Professorship of Divinity, spoken of in the text, had been filled by the appointment of Rev. John Blair, of Fogg's Manor, Pennsylvania, Mr. Hopkins continued to manifest the same interest in it. Thus, after having visited Boston, he writes to Dr. Bellamy: "July 23, 1767. Mr. Blair [Rev. Samuel B., pastor of Old South Church, and nephew of the newly-appointed professor] and others are beyond expectation friendly and zealous, with respect to the professorship. Mr. Blair tells me he can easily get thirty pounds sterling *per annum* subscribed in Boston. My friend Mr. P. thinks you ought to go to New York, to forward the matter there." As early as April 5, 1769, there is a record that Mr. William Phillips and his two brothers, of Boston, had subscribed three hundred pounds, i. e., a thousand dollars, for the college at Princeton.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 44, 45.

objections against him related not to "the substance of his doctrine," but to the style of his address.

Still, in despite of his inattention to the outward graces, he became the spiritual adviser of multitudes beyond the circle of his own parish. One of the many incidents illustrating the deference which was paid to him by the sex which is ever the quickest to discern spirituality of character, is thus related by Dr. Patten:

"Mr. Hopkins was highly esteemed by many pious persons, [in Boston.] There was a female praying-meeting in the place, which had been long established, and which was in high repute, as consisting of some of the most intelligent, and discreet, and pious women belonging to the church. Of this meeting Mr. H. was appointed chaplain, while residing at Great Barrington. By this office it was expected that he would meet with them, when he came to Boston, and that he would answer by letter, when at home, any question they might transmit to him on the doctrines or prophecies of Scripture, on cases of conscience, or other subjects relating to the kingdom of Christ. His answers, as one who belonged to the society informed the writer, were very instructive and profitable." *

SECT. XIX. MINISTRY AT GREAT BARRINGTON,—ITS TERMINATION AND RESULTS.

Amid the ecclesiastical commotions which followed the revivals under Whitefield, amid the ravages of Indian warfare, amid the distracting influences of a society composed of Dutchmen and Puritans, in a new settlement, Mr. Hopkins found no more trouble than he expected. Any prosaic, straightforward, doctrinal preacher of high Calvinism would have met similar embarrassments.

The town of Great Barrington flourished somewhat during his pastorate. In 1761, it was selected as the seat of justice for Berkshire county, and had become the residence of some eminent civilians. Notwithstanding the modest confessions of Mr. Hopkins, that he had effected no good in his parish, (confessions that have been believed, while the modesty of them has been unhonored, for modesty in this age is a dangerous virtue,) he "admitted to his church, during his ministry, one hundred and sixteen members; seventy-one from the world, forty-five by recommendation from other churches." † This was not a useless ministry. It is often said, however, that his Hopkinsian peculiarities destroyed his influence at Great Barrington, and effected his dismissal from the place. His dismissal was occasioned by a variety of causes; *some* of which would have operated in like manner against the greater part of orthodox teachers at the present day.

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 56, 57. This prayer-meeting, which is still continued, was originated in 1741. Ten or fifteen years afterward, the members of it signed a written covenant, like that of the Osborn prayer-meeting at Newport. This was probably done through Hopkins's influence.

† History of the County of Berkshire, p. 228.

In the first place, a large proportion of his own friends in the parish were poor, and could not contribute much to his support.

Secondly, a large proportion of his townsmen were parsimonious, and would not contribute what they could. "A number," he says,* "turned churchmen, apparently, and some of them professedly, to get rid of paying any thing for the support of the gospel."

Thirdly, some of Mr. Hopkins's parishioners were dissatisfied with the terms of church communion which he enforced, and which are now so commonly sanctioned. A prominent civilian of Stockbridge, who had there opposed Mr. Edwards on the Half Way Covenant, removed afterward to Great Barrington, and transferred his opposition from Mr. Edwards to Mr. Hopkins. Many unconverted parents, particularly among the Dutch, insisted on having their children baptized; and when the number of unchristened children amounted to sixty or thereabouts, an Episcopal clergyman was invited to administer the rite. Here we see another occasion of the Episcopal church, which was formed at Great Barrington, in 1760, and which materially lessened the resources of the old parish.

Fourthly, some of his hearers disliked his frank and honest way of unfolding the doctrines of Calvinism, particularly the doctrine that God decrees all events, sin not excepted.

Mr. Israel Dewey addressed a letter to his pastor, Mr. Hopkins, December 14, 1757, and represented him as having preached one sermon on the text, "The Lord reigneth," &c., and as having asserted "the decrees, the eternal plan, and that nothing could possibly happen but what was right and ought to be rejoiced in, because all was exactly as *God would have it*, even events the most vile and enormous." Mr. Dewey further represents his pastor, Mr. Hopkins, as having preached a second sermon, on "using the world," &c., and as having declared that we abuse the things of the world only when we use them in opposition to "the interest, end, and design for which they were given." Here Mr. Dewey aims to involve his pastor in a dilemma, and says: "If God ordered and appointed all the wickedness that comes to pass among men and devils, then, certainly, it must be allowed that the wickedness of man in abusing the world could not be contrary to the intention, end, and design of God the Giver, but exactly agreeable to the appointment and determination of God." Mr. Hopkins replied to this letter, February 4, 1758; to which reply Dewey rejoins, and represents Mr. Hopkins as having taught that God does, and does not, hate sin infinitely; and that if he did infinitely hate its commission, he would be the most unhappy of all beings. Mr. Dewey infers from his pastor's discourses, that "God and the devil are of one mind, and are united in carrying on that work which God has eternally willed and planned out for him." At length, he concludes his letter by the following significant annunciation: "And now, reverend and dear sir, I would just observe that the plain and manifest design of the Scriptures is to declare against sin. Nor can it be true, that sin should be contrary to God's law, nature, and will, and at the same time be perfectly agreeable to his good will and pleasure, and exactly as he would have it, (as you are pleased to express it.) And now, sir, as you stand in the relation of a pastor to me and mine, and also a teacher, I think it my duty and interest to oppose you, as long as you oppose the truth.

* Sketches, p. 49.

If I live, and you don't dismiss your principles, you may rationally expect I shall oppose you and endeavor your dismission."

Fourteen years after this correspondence, President Stiles writes in his Literary Diary: "Some persons printed Mr. Hopkins's letter in answer to the first of Mr. Dewey. This prompted Mr. Dewey to print both his. I have not seen Mr. Hopkins's letters. He tells me he has them all, and says Mr. Dewey, on a sick bed, seemed to be sorry for his letters; but, recovering to health, returned to his former sentiments again. Ten years after this dispute, Mr. Hopkins asked [his dismissal], and was dismissed. I consider the foundation of it partly laid in this dispute with Dewey." This foundation of it, then, was laid in Calvinism, and not in Hopkinsianism as a distinct and different system; for Calvin makes a hundred assertions like these: "The first man fell, because the Lord determined that he should;" * "I confess that all the children of Adam have fallen by the will of God into this miserable condition in which they are involved; and this is what I said at the first, that we must always return at length to the mere pleasure of the divine will, the cause of which is hidden in himself." †

Fifthly, in addition to the above-named troubles came those of politics. The irritability of feeling which preceded the revolution, was ill fitted to promote the harmony of a parish. Mr. Hopkins was as strong in his Whig principles, as in other things. As early as March 18, 1766, he writes to Dr. Bellamy:

"We have nothing very new this way. Town affairs engross the thoughts of many. The battle is to come on next Monday, they say. If the Tories get the victory, which they are zealous to do, the town will lie in ruins, and I must soon leave preaching here, it is probable. I look on, and wait the event with some degree of calmness, I hope." — The battle came on. The Tories triumphed. But the town meeting was adjudged to be illegal. The General Court ordered another meeting to be held in July. Major Hawley, of Northampton, was to be moderator. "But the Tories are determined to carry the day even then," writes Hopkins, "and are turning every stone, and my friends are ready to give up the case for lost. If they prevail, it seems I have done here. 'The Lord reigns; let the earth rejoice.'"

He writes again, July 26, 1766: "Last week we had a town meeting, which lasted three days. The spirits of each party were raised to a very high degree. In the issue, the Tories carried the day, and have got all town affairs in their hands, just as they had before; with this aggravation, that now they have a vastly higher degree of resentment against me and the party that adheres to me, than before. They say they will withhold a great part of my salary, if not all; and it appears that they intend to get me out of town. Query: Since my salary seems to be the great bone of contention, the strife at bottom being about money, (Who shall have the government of the money voted for preaching? or, in one word, Whether the Dutch, &c., shall pay any part of my salary?) had I not better give my salary up, and, if those who adhere to me will not maintain me by subscription, either leave them or preach *gratis?*" A characteristic proposal from this advocate of disinterested benevolence.

Sixthly, many of his parishioners became *jealous* of Mr. Hopkins, and imagined that he was desirous of leaving them. Their suspicions were inflamed by the fact that he had been invited to preach

* "Lapsus est enim primus homo, quia Dominus ita expedire censuerat." Inst. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. § 8.

† Inst. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. § 4.

in several vacant pulpits, and had spent several weeks preaching, with much acceptance, in 1766 and 1767, at Salem, Massachusetts.* He was annoyed by this jealousy; still he assured his people, that he had no wish to forsake them if they would give him an honorable support, (by which he meant about two hundred dollars *per annum*.) Having no wish to "drive a good bargain," he confessed that his pecuniary interests would be better if he continued at Great Barrington than if he left it; and then added, in his frank and blunt way, that if they desired him to preach, they must be more punctual in their attendance upon his ministrations. So many of them lived at a distance from the meeting-house, were unable to own carriages, and were not attracted to walk far over rough roads for the sake of hearing his monotonous tones, that he was often discouraged by his meagre auditories.

Seventhly, the spirit of the town remained, as it was at first, adverse to true religion. A great majority of the pious citizens were his warm friends, but immorality abounded. In 1767, he requested the church to refer the question of his continuance among them to a council. But they refused, for they were resolved to retain him. They adopted various expedients to raise his salary; but after an effort of two years, they despaired, and then united with their despondent pastor in the summoning of a council. He writes to his confidential friend Bellamy:

"December 20, 1768-9. I have but a minute, just to inform [you] that last evening this church agreed to call a council, to sit here on the third Wednesday of January next, to advise whether it is expedient for me to continue here, as circumstances are, or be dismissed. The members of the council are to be Dr. Bellamy, Messrs. Brinsmade, Farrand, West, Collins, and the messengers the churches shall send with them. The church have appeared as forward to take this step as myself, and have led the way in advising to it; and they generally have higher expectations of my dismission, I believe, than I have, — wholly grounded in want of support. And now, sir, I hope you will be willing to go through some difficulty to assist your friend and a poor people."

On the day appointed, (January 18, 1769,) the council met, and advised, in a style very laudatory of Dr. Hopkins, that the connection between the discouraged pastor and the afflicted church be dissolved. He had been the minister over that people twenty-five years and twenty-one days. This fact attests his perseverance; for even at this late day, not one of his successors at Great Barrington has

* In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 7, 1766, Mr. Hopkins writes: "The people [of Salem] urged me to stay another Sabbath, and tried to get encouragement that I would come and settle there. The congregation is pretty large, and they say, the only one in town that receives and will hear sound doctrine; that 'tis of the greatest importance they should have a man who is able to defend the doctrines of the gospel, &c.; and they choose to settle, *not* a young man, but one whose character is established and known. I gave them no encouragement." He did not believe that the people would endure his preaching when they fully understood it. "Besides," he adds, "baptism would probably be an insuperable difficulty. — Great Barrington seems to be the place for me."

remained there so long. Indeed, there was no pastor over that church for eighteen years after Mr. Hopkins left it. His departure let in evils, which his presence had kept out. After the war of the revolution, in 1787, a minister was stationed there, but he remained only three years, when the flock was again left without a shepherd for sixteen years. In 1798, President Dwight visited the place, and remarked: * "It is probable that there has been more horse-racing in these two towns [Great Barrington and Sheffield] than in all the State of Massachusetts beside." Twenty-five years after his dismission, Mr. Hopkins visited Great Barrington, with his friend Dr. Patten, who thus describes the town: †

"The people were without a minister, nor was there any convenient place in which to assemble for public worship. Dr. H. inquired if his former meeting-house could not be fitted for the purpose for one Sabbath; but it was found to be impracticable, as the windows were broken, the door had fallen down, and the floor had long been occupied by sheep, who resorted to it from the common at night, and in storms. It was further said, that if a meeting should be appointed any where else, there would be but little interest taken in it; but few would attend. It was common for those who regarded the Sabbath and public ordinances to go to other towns to enjoy them; while others devoted the day to visiting, to sitting in taverns, to horse-racing, and other amusements; and Mr. Hopkins supposed they expended much more in these ways, and the consequent dissipation and extravagance, than would be necessary for the support of the gospel ministry among them."

In his seventy-fifth year, looking back upon his dismissal, which occurred in his forty-eighth year, this advocate for disinterested benevolence expresses himself thus: ‡

"I then had a wife and eight children, and owned a house and good farm, and could, by leaving my study and attending to my farm, have supported myself and family, and continued to preach to those who would come to hear me, after a sort, with little study. But I then thought, and it was the judgment of the council, and of the church, that as I could not be supported there, so as to be able to give myself wholly to the work of the ministry, and pursue my studies without any great interruption from worldly cares and labor, it was my duty to leave them, and go where I could be supported. And if no such place presented, I could, by turning my attention to farming, support myself. But since I have seen the unhappy consequences to that people of my leaving them, many of which might probably have been prevented by my staying with them, though I had studied but little, and spent great part of my time in attention to my worldly concerns, I have sometimes been ready to call in question the reasonableness of that conclusion, and have thought it probable we were all wrong in judging as we did, and that it was my duty to stay with that people in those circumstances. It is certain this would have been greatly to my *worldly* advantage. But I then thought I did right, and took the most prudent and proper steps, in taking the advice of a council."

Could the good man arise from his grave, and look out upon the beautiful villages and the enterprising population which now dis-

* Dwight's Travels, vol. ii. p. 379.
† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 55, 56.
‡ Sketches, pp. 49, 50.

tinguish that romantic town, he would rejoice that he once struggled there against the obstacles to its civilization, and prayed there for the children and children's children of the pioneers who subdued its wild forests.

Sect. XX. DEPTH OF MR. HOPKINS'S RELIGIOUS FEELINGS DURING AND AFTER HIS RESIDENCE AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

In his thirty-third year, December 26, 1733, the good man writes:

"I have lately had distressing apprehensions of the badness of my state, being ready to conclude that such a sinner as I am cannot possibly have any grace. This evening my spirit labored under an unsupportable load of sin, and my spirits were drunk up with anguish. As soon as I could, I shut myself up in my study, and fell upon my knees before God.

"And first, I felt and told God that I had nowhere else to go but to him, though I had sinned so greatly against him. I felt and expressed the extreme folly of forsaking him, — that it was beyond all conception. I reflected on the aggravations of my sins, and saw they were so vastly multiplied and numerous, that it was impossible my mind should ever have a full view of them, or be able to reckon them; yea, that there was not one aggravation but what exceeded all my thoughts and conceptions. I thought it a wonder that I was not in hell, and confessed that God might justly send me there immediately; yea, he might justly do what was unspeakably more dreadful, viz., continue me in the world till I had filled up the dreadful measure of my iniquities, and become a great and remarkable vessel of wrath, fitted for that destruction for which I was before appointed, that I might sink down unspeakably below *Judas*, and bear a more awful weight of wrath than any other who should go to hell.

"Under these shocking apprehensions of the weight of wrath which belonged to me, it came into my mind that Christ could save from all this; he could deliver from such a weighty wrath.

"Immediately upon which, my soul applied to him for help, and this was the language of my heart: 'Lord Jesus, I come, I come, I come to thee; I come for deliverance from this distinguished place in hell, this uncommon weight of wrath.' I thought I might hope in him for deliverance, though others went to hell, whose sins were unspeakably less than mine; and the truth contained in those words, '*I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*,' seemed sweet and wonderful. I felt confounded, and my soul was filled with blushing and shame, saying from my heart, 'Righteousness belongeth unto thee, O Lord, but unto me shame and confusion of face, because I have sinned.' In the conclusion of my petitions, when I mentioned Christ as the person in whose name I presented myself and offering, I felt that he was the only Saviour, and ground of hope for sinners. Had it not been for him, the least sin must have damned infallibly; and it seemed wonderful, even that the least sinner, and especially such a sinner as I was, might have hope. When I came to conclude my devotions with ascriptions of praise to God, my heart dwelt upon this, and I longed that the angels might praise God. I saw that God could glorify himself by saving me, but the tribute of praise which I could offer was mean and inconsiderable. I wanted to lisp out his praise in some humble place. I rose from my knees, lightened and comforted; all nature put on a more pleasant aspect, and those words, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,' dwelt on my heart with pleasure and delight."

In his forty-eighth year, a few months after leaving Great Barrington, he writes:

"Monday, June 12, 1769. Spent Saturday in fasting and prayer; had a variety of exercises, more strong than common; was in tears great part of the day, so that I was obliged to shut myself up, not fit to be seen. If ever I knew what it was to cast myself upon Christ, I did so now. Sovereign grace was all my plea and all my hope. I had unspeakable pleasure in thinking that in me there was a proper foundation for the *greatest* exercise and display of sovereign grace, even in my infinite, distinguished guilt, vileness, and misery; this afforded opportunity for the exercise of divine power, wisdom, and goodness, in all their infinite height and latitude; that in *me*, there was a *broad bottom* for the trial of divine grace, on which it may have full scope, as it were, and erect the greatest monument to the praise of the glory of God's grace to all eternity! My soul seemed to rejoice and exult in this, more, unspeakably more than in my own salvation, considered as separate from this. Yea, the latter was as nothing, of no account, and not worth asking for, in comparison with the former, or aside from that.

"My exercises were uncommon and remarkable in one respect, viz., in the quick succession of light and joy, and dejection and gloom. I was sometimes lifted up, and then soon cast down, and my exercises, as it were, obliterated.

"The chief things I proposed to seek God for to-day, were, first, his direction and smiles, with regard to my future circumstances and usefulness in the world; with respect to which I have had a variety of exercises, which would fill a volume were they all recorded; secondly, for my Christian friends; thirdly, for the church of Christ, &c.

"This morning, awoke with the words of Christ in my mind, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself unto him.' I seemed to long to keep Christ's commandments, and thought the great one was to *love one another*. This led me, when I was up, to read the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of John. And O, how full of sweet instruction are they! There is an additional, inexpressible sweetness in the Bible, now, which I never tasted before.

"Saturday morning, July 1. Purpose to spend this day in fasting and prayer. The day is to be spent in the following manner: 1. In attending to my sins, and confessing them before God; 2. In praying for pardon and holiness; 3. That God would make the path of duty plain before me, form me for his service, and improve me in it; 4. In seeking mercies for my wife and children; 5. Praying for direction and assistance while with this people, that some good may be done here; 6. For my Christian friends and kind benefactors; 7. For the church of Christ in general, and for the world of mankind.—Close the day with thanksgiving.

"When I first rose this morning, read the seventy-first Psalm, with some exercises of heart and pleasure. Many passages in it seemed applicable to my circumstances, and I thought I could make them the language of my own heart. The imprecations on enemies (verses 13, 24,) I could apply to invisible enemies; the devils, and wicked men, considered as enemies to me, because enemies to Christ, and so far as they are such, they may be consumed and destroyed. This is consistent with their being converted and saved.

"'Their feet are swift to shed blood, but how to do good they know not.' This is the very character that I have been of, all my days. All sin of omission or commission is shedding blood; it is mischief, it is murder. In all my connections, I have been constantly guilty of omitting something which I ought to have done for their good, or doing something which tended to their hurt. I have missed ten thousand opportunities to do good, and have not seen them till they were past, through the stupidity and wickedness of my heart. If I have ever desired to do any good, it has been the effect of sovereign grace.

"I have been longing to get rid of sin. The thought of living as I have is dreadful. In this sense, I groan, being burdened!

"July 5. I have had a sweet hour between nine and ten. Surely, if the highest enjoyments on earth were all laid at my feet, to have them to all eter-

nity without God, I would not give this hour's enjoyment for them all. Yea, I would despise them. 'It is good for me to draw near to God.' How swift and how sweetly do ideas pass the mind, when it is in any measure in a right frame! It is impossible to express all the thoughts and ideas which have passed my mind in this hour on my knees before God. 'There is none on earth that I desire *besides thee*,' were words to which my soul did echo, and which I could espouse with all my heart. *Besides thee*, that is, aside from thee, or without thee, and not in union with thee. I concluded with a solemn and I hope *hearty* dedication of myself to God, believing that he could, and in a degree of confidence that he would, do more than I am able to ask, or conceive.

"July 6. Rose early this morning, and O, astonishing that I may say it! have had a gracious and most sweet visit from God. When I first attempted to bow before God, I felt myself, all at once, in the presence of the all-seeing, infinitely wise, good, and every way most excellent and glorious God, who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working. My soul adored, and loved, and rejoiced in him. My soul was drawn out in strong and sweet exercises of love and praise, in a view of what God is in himself, and as manifested in his works. My soul would praise God, let him do what he would with me. I said, I will praise thee as long as I live, and bless thy name while I have a being. O, how did my heart rejoice and exult that there is *such a God!* Words cannot utter it, nor can I write a thousandth part of my exercises. It appeared something wonderfully great, and inexpressibly desirable, to be the instrument of bringing but one soul to the knowledge of this glorious God — of turning men from darkness to this marvellous light.

"This morning I have been led to view and address God, considered in his absolute, divine perfection, and address him in and through Christ, more than is common for me. I generally, when I have the greatest freedom at the throne of grace, speak directly to Christ, as if he was, in a sense, the only object of worship, being God, and having all power in heaven and earth; but now it was otherwise.

"I have sometimes been troubled about this matter, and feared I had no right ideas of the Father and the Son, of God and Christ, as I seemed not to know how to conceive of them, and address them in my devotions. And [I] have been hence led to ask, that I might know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; might have ideas and conceptions of the glorious God and Saviour, agreeable and answerable to the revelation he has made of himself. I have been more satisfied about it this morning. I now believe that Christians may have different views with respect to this, and yet all be right. Sometimes their minds may be fixed on Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead, and he may be more immediately the object of their adoration and worship, addressing him more directly, in which he is considered as set up by the Father, and invested with all authority, and so comprehending *all that is called God*. At other times, they may have their minds more especially fixed on the divine perfections, more absolutely considered, yet not exclusively of Christ the Mediator, and so more directly address God over all, blessed forever, as exercising mercy through a Mediator. And I believe different Christians may, in a stated way, differ in this respect in their view and addresses, and so be naturally led to talk of their exercises in a little different language; some speaking more of God, others more of Christ. Our ideas are very scant at best, and we see but by parts and in a very partial manner. Hence, when we view God in one attitude, if I may so express it, his other relations and attitudes are more out of sight, and less attended to. Yet when all our ideas and views are compared together, they are perfectly uniform and consistent, however various and different they may be.

"Three o'clock. Have had a sweet time in a walk in the woods [in Topsham, Maine]. Had more hope and confidence before God that I should dwell with him forever in his kingdom, than I ever had before. Christ appeared great and glorious in redeeming his people from all iniquity, and even in

redeeming one such soul as mine. I said, 'I will praise thee forever;' but this tribute appeared nothing. Then I said, 'Let all the angels praise thee for thy wonderful works to me.' But this also appeared to be little, which led me to say, 'Glorify thyself.'

"Saturday, September 30. Have been reading the twenty-fifth Psalm, with application to myself. Have particularly attended to the seventh verse, where the Psalmist desires that God would give what he asks for, *for his goodness' sake*, that is, for the sake of the display of his goodness, as there must be a great and wonderful exercise and display of it in showing mercy to him who was so sinful, unworthy, and ill-deserving. This has been often my only refuge and plea. God shows mercy, *for his goodness' sake*. This is a reason, then, why he should show mercy to me; for his own goodness cannot be more displayed and honored than in his being good to *me*. Blessed be God for this plea. I can now say, 'Pardon mine iniquity, *for it is great*.'

"November 10. Had a pleasant season this morning, soon after I rose. It began with desires after the Holy Spirit. I saw this was all I wanted, all I could ask for, and pleaded the promise, 'Ask, and ye shall receive.' These words of Christ were on my mind, 'He that forsaketh house, or lands,' &c., &c. I thought I had a heart to do this, and blessed Christ that he had given such a heart, as the greatest possible gift, infinitely greater than to have the whole world bestowed on me. I know I ought to be willing to suffer and die in the cause of truth. O that Christ would give me such a heart!

"January 6, 1770. I have been walking in a ropewalk [at Newport, Rhode Island] by myself. There I dedicated myself to Jesus Christ, with strength of heart and with unspeakable joy. I felt it to be an amazing privilege that I might be devoted to him, and that he would accept such an offering. I felt that I was under infinite obligations to this, and that the obligation is every way unbounded, and that there is a peculiar happiness in being thus obliged to him.

"I have promised that, by his grace, I never will recall this dedication of myself to him, praying him to subdue every thing in my heart that opposes this consecration, and that he would cause it to rise higher and higher continually.

"Saturday, near sunset, January 13. Have had some sense of God's mercies to-day, and some disposition to praise him for his wonderful goodness. I have had a degree of confidence that I am devoted to God. I cast myself, and all my concerns, the concerns of the church and the world, on him, with some degree of sensible resignation and cheerfulness. Have had more strong desires than ever for the good of the congregation I am preaching to, and have been enabled to plead for it with God. My mouth has been filled with arguments, and [I] have had strong desires to be the instrument of building of it up.

"Monday morning, four o'clock. Have been worried about my preaching yesterday. I believe it was the truth, but perhaps I had better not have preached it then; but I suspect the devil has a hand in my uneasiness and perplexity. O that Christ would deliver me from this roaring lion, and baffle and confound him! I know he will, and that however imprudent I am, and whatever advantage the devil gets by it at present, it shall all turn against him at last, and he shall be most effectually disappointed and confounded. This is some comfort to me, I think; but it is unspeakably dreadful to me, to think of giving him advantage by my imprudence and sin. O Lord, in thy righteousness deliver me from this subtle, powerful, cruel, unjust, injurious foe! He has no right to seek my ruin or the ruin of others. So far as I am against him and desire to oppose him, and sincerely cry to thee for deliverance, and his overthrow, I am in a *righteous cause*. O, deliver me in thy righteousness. Let him be blasted forever.

"Saturday evening, February 10. Have had freedom in thought and prayer. Have been enabled to cast all my cares and burdens on God, as an infinitely full fountain, and the portion which my soul desires. I have some-

times seemed to have nothing to pray for; every thing is right, and just as I should desire to have it be. So long as Christ reigns and has every thing in his hands, I seem to have nothing to do but praise.

"It seems to me I have some higher sense of what is meant by *living by faith on the Son of God*, than I used to have. It is to make Christ ALL, to seek him for *every thing*, and live entirely on his expense and charges, having nothing of our own but emptiness and poverty."

SECT. XXI. SECOND CANDIDATESHIP.

We are now to turn over a new leaf in the history of Mr. Hopkins. One half of his ministerial life has passed away; the more eventful half is yet to come. When dismissed from Great Barrington, he doubted whether he should ever again become the pastor of a church. He was engaged in writing a work for the press; and, spending the week at home, was accustomed to ride twelve miles every Saturday, to North Canaan, and after preaching there on the Sabbath, return home on Monday morning. In the ensuing April and May, (1769,) he preached several Sabbaths at the Old South meeting-house, in Boston. Many of the most earnest Christians in that church desired that he should be installed over it* as a colleague with the venerable Dr. Sewall; but the more popular members of the congregation frowned on the movement and checked it. He was then invited to Topsham, Maine, where he preached to a Presbyterian society, from the early part of June to the early part of July. He was strongly urged to remain there, and assured that he would receive a unanimous call. From Topsham, he was invited to Newport, Rhode Island. He arrived at that town, July 21, 1769, and preached his first sermon there, July 23. Having been heard five Sabbaths, he received a call to settle over the First Congregational Church and Society in that town. Seven members of the church voted in his favor, three voted against him, and two voted neither way. He took the call into consideration, returned home, and after several weeks went back to Newport with a purpose to comply with the desires of the church. He had become strongly attached to its members. But a change had come over the people. A sarcastic pamphlet had been circulated against him, and a committee of the church now requested him to withhold his answer to their call, to continue his ministerial labors among them, and wait in hope that the prejudices excited by the pamphlet might subside. He yielded to the wish of his friends, and as the day for the decisive vote drew near, he makes the following records:

"Saturday, March 3, 1770. I think I have given up every point but this, viz., that the path of duty may be made plain. If I have a call to leave New-

* He had been somewhat intimate with Rev. Mr. Cumming, a former pastor of the Old South, and with some wealthy individuals in the church.

port, and shall see it to be so, I think I can cheerfully go forth, not knowing whither I am to go. And I have a pleasing hope and confidence that the way will be made plain. Why should I not trust in that God for this, who has hitherto led me in a *plain path*, especially ever since I have had a heart to seek this in a more particular manner, making it my great petition, not caring so much what God called me to, if his call might be made clear and plain?

"God's goodness has been increasing upon me continually, and I will hope in him, for I shall yet praise him. I will now praise him for all his wonderful goodness to me, which is indeed beyond all account. God has forgiven me from my youth unto this day, and why may I not trust in him now? By his grace I will; on him I cast myself; on him I rely for pardoning and upholding mercy.

"Lord's Day evening, March 4. Had some uncommon exercises this morning. I longed to be improved in the work of the ministry, that Christ would be with me and make me a blessing. I offered myself, desiring that he would send me, since he had so much work to do in the world, and since he must employ unworthy, guilty sinners. I offered myself as such an one; and since he glorified himself in improving such, the more unworthy and vile, the more he would be glorified. I therefore made this an argument that I might be improved, as I was the most guilty and vile that could be found.

"March 7. Feel calm, resigned, and in some degree thankful. O, what consolation is it that God reigns, and will take the best care of his own honor and interest! And what an infinite mercy that I may hope and be confident that *this God* is my God and Redeemer!"

On Monday, March 12, the congregation met; and after having heard him nearly eight months, decided by a vote of thirty-six to thirty-three that they did not wish his services as their pastor. His opposers had circulated a paper for signatures against him, and by dint of personal address had secured a majority against his settlement. His friends were surprised and grieved.

"When this vote was communicated to him," says Dr. Patton,* "he inquired if the society had any supply engaged for the pulpit, the following Sabbath. On their answering, 'No,' he further inquired, as he could not reach home that week, whether the prejudices of the people were such that they would not be willing to hear him preach. They replied, 'O no; there is no such prejudice against you as that; they will be pleased to hear you.' The writer has seen, in manuscript, the sermon delivered in the afternoon on that occasion. It was appropriate as a valedictory discourse. It was expressive of no irritation; it manifested by implication no desire to have the call renewed. It appeared to be his great solicitude to guard the people from prejudice against the truth, and, in this light, against him as a minister of the truth. He said that he 'held no doctrines, the substance of which he had not preached to them before they gave him a call; that it was his object, by study of the Scriptures and by prayer, to ascertain the truth, and thus to preach no doctrine to which any one could object without objecting to the word of God.'"

He preached this sermon, March 18, and at the same time communicated to the church his letter declining the call which he had received from them on the 21st of the preceding August. He then expected to return home during that very week, and to "live a private life on his farm."

* Reminiscences, pp. 59–61.

"But," he says,* "the congregation appeared attentive and solemn, [during my farewell discourse,] and numbers were observed to weep. The next morning, [March 19,] it was reported, where I lodged, that there appeared to be a revolution in the congregation; that several of the leaders in the opposition to me appeared to repent of what they had done, and said that their consciences accused them so severely of their wickedness in what they had done, that they had little or no sleep during the night, and were now determined to do all they could to prevent my leaving them. And, accordingly, they went to those whom they had influenced to subscribe against my staying, to persuade them to retract. And that evening, two or three of those who had been at the head of the opposition to me came to me, and confessed they had opposed my settling in the congregation, and influenced as many as they could against me. But now [they] were convinced they had done wrong, and had taken pains to undo what they had done, and persuade those whom they had influenced to appear against my settling among them, to alter their sentiments and conduct; that they now sincerely desired that I would stay and be their minister, &c. And I was at the same time informed that a number of the congregation, who had been in a great degree indifferent with regard to my staying or going away, now appeared to be aroused and engaged in favor of my staying, and said they would do all in their power to prevent my leaving them. The next day, the committee of the congregation applied to me, and said that it appeared that those who had been in opposition to my settlement among them had retracted, and were now desirous that I would stay with them; at least, this was true of the most of them. And they believed, if the church and congregation were now to meet, they would be unanimous, or nearly so, in renewing their former invitation to me to settle with them in the ministry. They therefore desired me to stay till the church and congregation could be called together, and renew their call, if they should appear, when met, disposed to do it. I consented to this, and in the beginning of the next week, [March 26, 1770,] the church and congregation met, and renewed their invitation to me to settle in the ministry with them. In this they were almost unanimous; but two or three of the congregation dissented, who had little or no influence in the congregation. And two or three of the church chose to be neuters, and vote neither for nor against it."

This is but one of many instances in which there seems to have been a real eloquence in the homely words of Mr. Hopkins. On the following day, he writes in his Journal:

"March 19. This day I had news brought me that three men, who had been most steady in opposing me, declared last evening that they were sorry they had opposed me, and they were now desirous that I would stay and settle with them. They were brought to this by my farewell sermon. It is said this sermon has had greater effect than all my preaching before. Some who have thought it not best for me to stay, now appear zealous for my staying. This is all wonderful. I desire to stand still and see the hand, the salvation of God! How greatly are my obligations increased to trust in God, to live to him, and follow him in the dark! What matter for praise and gratitude!

"March 21. My mind has been full of comfort and joy this morning. Have had unspeakably sweet exercises, more than can be mentioned. The success of my preaching last Sabbath is an instance of God's goodness, beyond any thing of the kind I ever experienced before. The walls of Jericho are fallen down by the blowing of rams' horns.

"Friday, March 23. The amazing instance of last Sabbath dwells on my mind, though I fear it will not be improved by me as it ought. When the walls of Jericho fell flat before the people of Israel, an accursed thing was

* Autobiography, pp. 72-74.

soon found in the camp. All was not dedicated to the Lord, and he was displeased. How justly displeased may he be, if this remarkable interposition of Divine Providence should not be all consecrated to his praise and honor! O Lord, keep me back from coveting any thing of the spoils of this victory to myself, to be improved in the gratification of my pride and worldliness. This I am in the utmost danger of, and shall do worse than Achan did, unless the Lord hold me back. O, may all be consecrated to thy glory."

Speaking of his installation, he says, after the lapse of a quarter of a century:*

"This event appeared to give satisfaction to all. And it was a time of peculiar gratitude and joy to my Christian friends, of whom there was a considerable number who had steadily adhered to me from my first acquaintance with them. And their pious affections, gratitude, and joy were greatly heightened, by the dark and trying scene which preceded, in my being apparently rejected by the congregation, and consequently determined to leave them; and the remarkable manner in which a revolution took place in favor of my staying, in which the hand of God was so conspicuous. And it was a peculiar satisfaction to me, that God had in such a manner opened the way for my settling here, and made the way of duty so plain, and that such a number of very dear and excellent Christian friends were hereby so greatly gratified. And I considered myself to be under new and greater obligations to devote myself to the service of Jesus Christ, and to faithfulness to him and the church and congregation to whom I now stood related as their pastor and minister. And now with shame I reflect upon my great deficiency. I said I would be wise, but it has been far from me! O Lord, enter not into judgment with me, for I cannot stand, or answer. I fly to pardoning mercy, through the atonement of Christ, as my only refuge."

Sect. XXII. CONNECTION OF MR. HOPKINS WITH DR. EZRA STILES, HIS CLERICAL NEIGHBOR AT NEWPORT.

Both of the above-named gentlemen exhibited the most interesting traits of their character in their intercourse with each other. President Stiles had been pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport nearly fifteen years when Mr. Hopkins was installed over the First; and he remained more than six years a colaborer with that self-denying divine. He was a man of extensive learning† and of a transparent honesty. He was a moderate Calvinist, and would not hesitate to express his disapprobation of any man, who "was so very Orthodox as to be a little inclined to the New Divinity." His church had not been separated from the First on account of doctrinal differences, but still was less strict and severe than the First, both in its theology and its religious life. It contained more of the aristocratic and less of the Puritan element. It was more noted for general intelligence, but less for theological information. President Stiles was not at all in favor of Mr. Hopkins's settlement over the First Church. In his Literary Diary he

* Sketches, pp. 74, 75.

† "This country has not, perhaps, produced a more learned man."—Dr. W. E. Channing, Works, vol. iv. p. 340.

gives a less favorable, and, we have reason to believe, a less accurate account than that which all other writers have given, of the changes effected by the "Farewell Sermon." He says that "no alteration was made in more than seven men" by that sermon. "Mrs. Osborn and the sorority of her meeting are violently engaged, and had great influence. They and the two deacons, and two thirds of [the] church were warmly engaged for Mr. Hopkins."

It is interesting to read that Dr. Stiles's church had some queries with regard to the propriety of installing Samuel Hopkins as a minister of the gospel! There has certainly been some progress within the last seventy years! Dr. Stiles writes in his Church Records:

"It having been suggested as Mr. Hopkins's opinion, that it was not the duty of the unregenerate to use the means of grace, their guilt being increased, the more light they resisted, under even the highest convictions, the church insisted, and unanimously charged us in council, to know from Mr. Hopkins whether he held that it was a sin for the unregenerate to use the means of grace. And in case it was his principle, they desired the pastor not to proceed nor assist in his instalment. Accordingly, when the council met, this was agitated; and, after some discourse, Mr. Hopkins declared, before the council, 'that it was the duty of the unregenerate to pray to God, to read the Scriptures, attend public worship, and, in general, to use all the means of grace.' This was to the satisfaction of the council, Mr. Hopkins being of good moral character."

Dr. Stiles was the scribe of the council, and thus describes the manner of the instalment:

"Repairing to the meeting-house about eleven [o'clock,] A. M., [April 11, 1770,] where was a large assembly, Mr. Campbell opened the solemnity with prayer; then I preached from John xviii. 3: 'This is life eternal,' &c. Then I read the result publicly, with the votes of the church and of the congregation. Then I turned to the brethren of the church, (who sat together in a body by themselves,) and put it to vote, whether they now continued to call, &c. Then I turned to Mr. Hopkins for his answer of acceptance; which being done, I retired from the desk, and Mr. Ellis ascended it and prayed; and after prayer, he turned to Mr. Hopkins, the pastor elect, and addressed him with a charge, which was done without imposition of hands, (as he had been once ordained,) so that the design of this was only to give him the pastoral charge of this flock. Then Mr. [Levi] Hart gave him the right hand of fellowship, and made the concluding prayer. Then Mr. Hopkins gave the Psalm, and dismissed the assembly with a blessing."

At the time of Hopkins's installation, Dr. Stiles was at the height of his intimacy with the Jewish Rabbies and other *literati*, at Newport. This is very obvious in his installation discourse. Its theme was, "Saving Knowledge." It abounds with Latin and Greek sentences from the fathers, with biblical quotations also, in the original Hebrew, to some of which are appended Latin translations; with references to Selden, Croijus, Le Clerc, Basnage, Monis, Simeon ben Johany, Zeno, Plato, Parmenides, etc. He seemed to think it fitting, that the sermon at *Hopkins's* installation should have a marked

character. The following are a few of his sentences on the "Trinity in Unity," and they must have caused a peculiar expression of countenance in the pastor elect:

"To adduce a few passages. Isaiah xli. 4, *Ani Jehovah rashon vat acharonimani hu.* Here is *acharonim* plural predicated of *I*, oneness, repeated unity — *I am he* — and yet this *I am he* is the *first and last Gods*, or pluralities. Again, Jeremiah xxiii. 36; Joshua xxiv. 19; Isaiah xxxvii. 16; Jeremiah x. 10; as also Deuteronomy iv. 35; 2 Samuel vii. 26; Amos iii. 13; Hosea xii. 5; Malachi i. 9, — *im adonim ani*, (*si Domini ego*,) *If I am your Lords.* Deuteronomy xi. 4, *Jehovah elohinu Jehovah ahaud*, (*Jehovah dii nostri Jehovah unus*); *Jehovah our Gods is the one Jehovah*, or, *There is but one self-existent being.* I think every one, who understands these passages in the original, must see PLURALITY IN UNITY; that in Jehovah there are *Elohim, Gods*; and yet that they all make *He* singular or unity; for Moses expressly asserts Jehovah is a most absolute unity, — a unity to which no other unity bears any resemblance; agreeable to Rabbi Moses ben Maimon and the Igdal, *ahaud vain jachid kajichudo*, (*unus nec unitas similis unitati suæ.*) Now this plurality in the divine essence is the only thing (under a numeral idea) which distinguishes it from other unities. All unities are alike, *except that of God.* Rabbi Akiba, ix. Mishna, says, *Chajim Elohim ruach ahaut*, (*unus est spiritus Deorum viventium*)." *

In one of his learned notes to this discourse, p. 18, Dr. Stiles recommends to young clergymen the study of the Platonic writers and of the Rabbinical literature. So different was he in his mental texture from his new co-laborer.† His friendships, too, were by no means the same with the friendships of his "new-divinity colleague." He was intimate with Dr. Dana, of New Haven, Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, and Rev. William Hart, the author of the pamphlet which delayed Mr. Hopkins's settlement at Newport. Can we wonder, then, that he recoiled from being shut up on an island with the ablest living champion of the Edwardean theology? — Still, both Dr. Stiles and his new neighbor were sensible men, and did not press their speculative differences into social life. It has been said by Dr. Channing,‡ that they "held no ministerial intercourse" with each other. This were sad, if true. But President Stiles writes in his Church Records, that he exchanged with Mr. Hopkins on the Sabbath preceding the installation of the latter. He afterwards alludes to frequent instances of the like fellowship. After he became President of Yale College, he went to Newport often, and, in his Literary Diary, thus notices his visits:

"October 1, 1780. Attended and heard Mr. Hopkins in the Sabbatarian meeting-house, who administered the sacrament to about thirty communicants, when I partook. — P. M. I preached [from] Rom. xii. 2, my congregation

* Inst. Sermon, pp. 13, 14.

† Still, our metaphysical divine caught some Hebraistic inspiration from Dr. Stiles; for in less than three months after this "instalment sermon," Hopkins writes to Bellamy: "My friends in Boston are ready liberally to contribute for the support of a *student of Hebrew*, if a proper person could be found."

‡ Works, vol. iv. p. 350.

attending." [The two congregations worshipped together for a time after the revolutionary army left Newport.]

"September 29, 1782. Lord's Day, at Newport. Preached all day to my dear flock in the Sabbatarian meeting-house. I notified a sacramental lecture at Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house, he expecting to be absent, and proposing and desiring that the two churches should unite in communion together."

"October 3. I preached a sacramental lecture."

"October 6. I preached all day at Mr. Hopkins's meeting, and administered the sacrament to both churches, united on the occasion, and for the first time," [i. e. the churches, although worshipping together, had not previously communed together.]

In his Memoir of Stiles, Dr. Holmes writes:* "Dr. Hopkins held a stated evening lecture every week, which Dr. Stiles usually attended. On one of these occasions, having read his text, he was taken with a bleeding at the nose, and sat down. The blood not stopping, he requested Dr. Stiles to preach. Furnished to all good works, he took the same text and preached extemporaneously."

It is interesting to notice the regularity with which Dr. Stiles records from week to week his attendance upon the Thursday lecture of Hopkins, and the gratification which he expresses, now and then, at the "many fine and judicious observations" which the lecturer made.

When he lost his wife, he wrote, May 30, 1775: "I desired Mr. Hopkins to make a prayer at my house, before the corpse was carried out," and "Mr. Hopkins walked as a mourner" to the grave. "When I settled in the ministry at Newport," he says,† "Mr. ———, the Congregational minister of the other church, was suspicious and cold toward me. I disarmed him by silence and benevolence. When his ministry was ended, I hoped for a successor in whom I might be happy as a cordial brother. There was a prospect of this in an ingenious young man, Mr. A———. But the church finally settled Mr. [Hopkins], of some sentiments very different from mine, while we agreed well in the general system of orthodoxy. As the providence of God had brought us into a connection, I determined to learn and get all the good I could from him, treat him with respect and benevolence, and endeavor, as far as we were agreed, to coöperate with him in building up the Redeemer's kingdom. And we lived together in peace and love."

There were many particulars, indeed, in which these two divines felt a cordial union. They were both decided patriots, and both contended, shoulder to shoulder, against the Tory influence which made many of the Rhode Island clergy adverse to the revolution.‡ They were both thorough-going Congregationalists, and had sagacity enough to fear, and manliness enough to oppose, the growth of the Anglican church among the descendants of those who had fled from it to our shores. Above all, these two men were benevolent Christians, and as such they went before their age in pushing forward various schemes of philanthropy.

It deserves to be remembered, in proof of Dr. Hopkins's catholicism of temper, that not only during the six years of his connec-

* Dr. Holmes's Life of President Stiles, p. 195.

† Ib. pp. 273, 274.

‡ Dr. Stiles gives a graphic account of the spinning matches, or "voluntary bees," which were held at his house, and also at the house of Mr. Hopkins, in 1770 and 1771. "Ninety-two Daughters of Liberty spun and reeled, respiting and assisting one another," etc., etc.

tion with Dr. Stiles, but also during the thirty-three years of his pastorate at Newport, he lived in uniform friendship with the minister of the Second Church, and the relations between that church and his own were less hostile than they had been before his installation, or than they were for a quarter of a century after his death. Notwithstanding all his controversies, he was a "lover of peace."

Sect. XXIII. EARLY PROSPECTS AND SUCCESS AT NEWPORT.

To go from the hilly region of Berkshire to the ocean scenery of Rhode Island, was a great change. Greater still was the transition from the society of Massachusetts yeomen, to that of the nautical and mercantile community at Newport. In his forty-ninth year, and with the habits of rural life, Mr. Hopkins was not well fitted for such an alteration of his social intercourse. When he was installed at Newport, the town was larger than it is now, and far more enterprising. It was the second town of New England in commercial importance. Although the census taken in 1774 gave the place only 9209 inhabitants, yet the place is supposed to have actually contained about 11,000;* more than twice as many as Providence at that time. Newport has now only 9563 inhabitants,† less than one fourth as many as Providence. In 1773, New York had but 21,876 inhabitants, being only about twice as large as Newport, and having in many departments a much less extensive foreign trade. The merchants of what is now the commercial emporium then sent often to Newport for their foreign goods, as Newport sends now to that emporium. A mercantile house in London is said to have directed a letter to "New York, near Newport." The town was noted, not only for the charms of its natural scenery, but also for the beauty of its private residences, for its fashionable and luxurious, as well as its intelligent and enterprising society, its culture of the fine arts, its scientific clubs, its refinement of taste and manners. Hence it was the favorite resort of learned men. The painters Stuart and Malbone were natives of the town; it was the favorite residence of Bishop Berkeley, and its medical practitioners were famed throughout the land. Not even in Virginia did there prevail a much more elegant hospitality, a much more sumptuous and baronial style of living, than among a class of the Narraganset planters. Dr. McSparran, a celebrated Episcopal clergyman in Newport, said, in 1752, that "neither Epiphanius's nor Sir Richard Blackmore's catalogues contain more heterodox and different opinions in religion than are to be found in

* Ross's Discourse, embracing the Civil and Religious History of Rhode Island, pp. 67, 68.

† Still, it has at present eighteen churches — one for every five hundred and thirty inhabitants; whereas, in 1770, it had only ten churches.

this little corner." * When Mr. Hopkins went there, he found two vigorous Baptist churches, each more than a century old. Three hundred Jews, many of them eminent for wealth and commercial skill, added interest to the town. Both Jewish and Sabbatarian worship had been maintained there for about a hundred years. A large number of Moravians, a still larger number of Quakers, diversified the social habits of the people. President Stiles loved to walk over the Parade with the Jewish Rabbies, learning from them the mysteries of the Cabala; but was this a place for Samuel Hopkins? He could not harmonize with the Dutch farmers; what will he do with the French fashions? He was too severe for the moderate Calvinists of Connecticut and Massachusetts; will he not be a foreign element among the formalists and *dilettanti* of Newport?

Still he found here many attractions. He felt more religious liberty in Rhode Island than he could feel elsewhere, and religious liberty he loved. He had access to the rich library of Dr. Stiles, and to the still more extensive Redwood Library,† which was then, as now, a treasure to the town. But, above all, — for this he valued more than all, — he "found here a number who appeared to be excellent Christians, and the best regulated church that he had seen." ‡

To the care of this church he addressed himself with fresh zeal. He says, in condensed language:

"I preached a lecture every Thursday evening, which was well attended. I invited the young people to meet at my house, the males on one week and the females on the next; and so to continue to meet every week alternately, to have questions proposed to them, which they were to answer, &c. Above forty young men subscribed to an engagement to attend those meetings; and more than seventy young women. After those meetings were attended a considerable time, I proposed that instead of these, which began to decline, I would attend a lecture every Sabbath evening at six o'clock in the meeting-house, in which I would explain to the young people the Shorter Catechism, composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; the young people to sit by themselves in the body of the meeting-house below, and elder people, who were disposed to come, to sit in the gallery and the pews round the sides of the house below. These lectures were crowded; the congregation being larger then than at the meetings in the former part of the day, as numbers attended them from other congregations in town. And the young people appeared attentive, gave constant attendance, and behaved decently. — When I had gone through the Catechism in this way, I undertook to give a *history of the Bible*, in a course of lectures, endeavoring to join entertainment with instruction, and religious, profitable reflections, particularly applicable to young persons. These lectures were continued, and well attended, till they were broken up by the war between Britain and America." §

In the year 1771, he admitted fifteen members into his church;

* See America Dissected, &c., in Sundry Letters from a Clergyman there. Updike's History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, pp. 483–533.

† He was made an honorary member of the Redwood Library Company, in 1770. His own church also possessed a valuable collection of books.

‡ Sketches, p. 69.

§ Ib. pp. 75, 76. He established his Thursday evening lecture July 6, 1770.

in 1772, four members; in 1774, three; in 1775, five; and, during his whole ministry, fifty-nine members, of whom six were received by letter. At the time of his death, thirty others were expecting to be soon added to his church. He catechised, weekly, more than a hundred children. Before he became pastor of the church, it had been numerically declining.* Its more pious members considered its existence as dependent upon his connection with it. His correspondence and church records evince that a new impulse was given to it during the first six years of his pastorate; new rules of ecclesiastical order and a new creed were formed; new arrangements were made for the care of the poor, for the music of the sanctuary, etc. This was evidently the sunniest period of his ministerial life. In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated January 8, 1771, he says:

"My lecture is well attended yet, and there are some instances of awakening among us. Several hope they have been converted lately, in my congregation. So far as I can judge, my congregation in general are more and more pleased. But many of the . . . . . are more and more alarmed, as some doctrines which I preach are destructive of the religion most in vogue among them. While you are all in quarrels, in Connecticut, and *Hopkintonians* are cursed with bell, book, and candle, Divine Providence has led me out of the noise, and provided a quiet retreat, where all is peace, and I receive more kindness from the hands of my friends in one year than I ever received in my life before."

On the 2d of April, 1773, we find him at the ordination of Mr. Sanford, at Medway, and, on the 21st of that same month, at the ordination of Mr. Emmons, at Franklin — two young men over whom he was destined to exert a long-continued power. We often catch glimpses of him walking with his guests, Dr. Bellamy and Dr. West, to dine with President Stiles; or else calling on President Stiles's guests, Mr. Whittlesey and Dr. Dana, of New Haven. Still, even at this most comfortable and most flattering period of his ministry, we find him faithful as ever in purifying the house of God. He sought not his own ease. He might have retained a pleasant degree of popularity, if he had aimed to please men. But he was artless as a child. In a little more than two months after he was installed, he became engaged in a process of discipline with a member of his church. The entire process continued until December 5, 1774. It resulted in the exclusion of the delinquent member from the Lord's table. But that member was himself a clergyman, and enlisted other ministers in his favor. He insisted that his own conduct and that of Mr. Hopkins, and of prominent individuals in the church, should be reviewed by a council. The council unanimously decided that the offending clergyman ought to have been excluded from fellowship, and that he had proved nothing

* May 31, 1770, his congregation consisted of a hundred and thirty-five families; his church, of seventy members, and of these, less than twenty were males.

"in any measure" injurious to the "ministerial or Christian character" of Mr. Hopkins. It is easy to see, however, that such unflinching perseverance, and such rigid faithfulness, as were manifested in this disciplinary process, were fitted to exalt the moral feelings of a church, rather than to make its pastor a favorite with the world. He exposed himself to the charge of severity in his treatment of offending brethren, and particularly in requiring of them a public confession of their sin. It must be confessed that he abhorred iniquity, and expressed his abhorrence with decision, and thus, even if he had been identified with no peculiarities of doctrine, would have given offence. But his severity came from his benevolence. "My desire," he says, during the tedious process of this discipline, "my desire of usefulness to this congregation is so great, that I am willing to sacrifice every personal and family interest to this. In this cause I think I am willing to give my life, and every thing dear to me in this world."

Sect. XXIV. VISIT FROM MR. WHITEFIELD.

It is pleasant to open the curtains of the past, and look upon our Newport minister, as, four months after his installation, he was enjoying a visit from Mr. Whitefield. Hopkins had listened with delight to Whitefield thirty years before, at New Haven; and on the 3d of August, 1770, welcomed him as a guest at the old Newport parsonage. At five o'clock, on the afternoon of August 4, Whitefield "preached to a very crowded audience at Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house," from Ps. li. 11: "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me." A young Jewess heard him, "and greatly admired his preaching the gospel of Christ." On the next morning, the Sabbath, he preached for Dr. Stiles, from Job xxii. 21: "Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace." At six o'clock in the afternoon, he preached from 1 Cor. iii. 11, in the fields adjoining Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house, to a thousand or fifteen hundred hearers. While preaching, he stood on a table, which is still reverently preserved. On the 7th of August, he preached at five o'clock, P. M., from Zech. ix. 12, at Mr. Thurston's Baptist meeting-house, to an audience of thirteen hundred within the walls, and four or five hundred without. After preaching, he dined at Major Otis's, with Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Thurston, and Dr. Stiles. At six o'clock on the next morning, he preached, from Gen. i. 2, to eleven hundred hearers, in Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house. After service, he dined with Messrs. Hopkins, Thurston, Stiles, and Rusmeyer, the Moravian pastor in Newport, at the house of Mr John Wanton, a Quaker.* In the afternoon, he left for Providence, and before two months had passed away, he died in Newburyport.

* The facts above stated are taken from Stiles's Literary Diary. The calculations, perhaps extravagant with regard to the number of Whitefield's hearers, were the common calculations of the time.

While Mr. Whitefield was at Newport, he was invited, with Mr. Hopkins and others, "to breakfast with a religious family, about five miles from town. On their way, Mr. Whitefield said to Mr. H., 'I am sorry that you New England ministers employ so much of your time in controversy. [A remark often repeated since Whitefield's time.] I wish you would devote your attention more immediately to the conversion of sinners.' Mr. H. replied, 'I have not published so large a pamphlet in the way of dispute as yours against Mr. Wesley.' [A fit reply, to which Whitefield rejoined,] 'O, the doctrine of Mr. Wesley was so contrary to the faith, and so dangerous, that a regard for the cause of Christ compelled me to attempt its refutation.' 'The same motive,' said Mr. H., 'may have influenced others; it certainly did me in what I have written.' [An apt retort.] After a considerable pause, Mr. Whitefield said, 'Is it not surprising, and much to be regretted, that good Mr. Edwards should deny the witness of the Spirit?' Mr. H. replied, 'I did not know that he had. What do you understand, sir, by the witness of the Spirit?' Mr. W. paused in apparent study for a definition. Mr. H. said, 'Do you mean by it an impression on the imagination, by some immediate communication from the Spirit, that your sins are forgiven, and that you are a child of God?' 'No,' said Mr. W., 'that does not express my opinion.' 'Do you then mean,' said Mr. H., 'an influence of the Spirit of God, exciting such a love for God and Jesus Christ, such clear views of their character, as that the subject of it knows from experience and from Scripture, that he is a child of God and an heir of salvation?' 'This,' said Mr. W., 'more accords with my views.' 'Yet this,' said Mr. H., 'is that witness of the Spirit for which Mr. Edwards pleads, in distinction from the former, which he represents as a species of enthusiasm.'" *

This conversation well illustrates the Socratic method of Mr. Hopkins in conducting a dispute.

Sect. XXV. AFFECTIONATE INTERCOURSE WITH FRIENDS.

More is known of Mr. Hopkins's inner life during the first six years of his residence at Newport, than during any other period of his history. And the first impression which his correspondence during this period makes upon the mind is, that he was a man not only of glowing love to his Maker, but likewise of warm and deep affection to his fellow-men. As he delighted in unreserved submission of all his interests to God, so he chose to sacrifice himself for the welfare of those who were made in the image of God. The germ of his theology lay in his benevolent spirit. He was an embodied refutation of the saying so often quoted from Edmund Burke,

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 67, 68. See likewise Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 52, 53.

that there is no heart so hard as that of a thorough-bred metaphysician. One reason why he loved to press certain articles of Calvinism to their logical sequences was, that he loved to contemplate the happiness of his fellow-men as they were swallowed up in the glory of their Father in heaven. True, he had so much of the philosophical temperament that he expressed his feelings less easily and readily than some do, and he often appeared, to men who did not know him, impassible and stern; but that there was a heart beating with strong and quick pulsations in his giant frame, is shown in many of his letters, and especially in those which he wrote during the meridian of his life. It must be acknowledged that some of his correspondence is too affectionate to be spread out before the multitude, who choose to complain of him as dried up and ossified. It is delightful to notice the style in which he often begins or closes his epistles, and which betrays his unconscious struggling for words to express his pent-up attachments. The following are specimens, from his letters to various friends.*

" . . . I am, with great sincerity, high esteem, and constant, warm affection and gratitude, your real friend and ready servant, S. H."

" . . . Suffer me to say, I prize the interest I have in your heart more than the possession of the whole world; and hope always to be, with growing esteem and affection, your obliged friend, S. H."

" . . . My heart is affected with [this] fresh instance of your generosity, benevolence, and friendship. I give you thanks; and would have you believe that my breast glows with a gratitude which words cannot express, and that I prize the gift chiefly for the sake of the giver, and as a fresh token of your love and friendship. Verily, you *shall* have your reward. I please myself with a particular remembrance in your prayers, while absent on my proposed journey; and may assure you that I shall remember you, with other dear Christian friends, so far as I remember myself, at least. With the best wishes I am capable of, and tender affection and gratitude, I am your very unworthy, greatly obliged friend and servant, S. H."

" . . . As words only will not tell how much I esteem and prize you, how dear you are to me as a Christian friend, — and all words are vain without a conduct answerable, — I think not to attempt to tell. May all my conduct in the station in which God has set me, testify how much I esteem you, and prize your friendship and prayers. O, how wonderful is God in his goodness! I have been affected with his goodness for many years, in giving me such Christian friends; which I valued as the greatest favor in life, and for which I have daily blessed God, and have had ardent desires to continue in this his goodness. That you should have such exercises and pleasure, in giving thanks to God for his goodness to and by me, is greatly pleasing and affecting. May all your pious, benevolent wishes and prayers be answered! Want of time forbids my adding, except that I am, with high esteem, and constant, tender affection, your obliged friend, and willing servant, S. H."

" . . . I thank you a thousand times for your last kind letter. I only write a line now, to ease and give a little pleasure to my own heart, by expressing a little of my esteem and love, and the great obligations I feel

* The affection of Mr. Hopkins for his fellow-laborers, drew from them a like affection. We are pleased in seeing that Dr. Samuel Spring becomes even poetical in expressing his love to his instructor; and not only commends his obituary notice of Mr. Hopkins "to candidates for the ministry, to whom he imparted his advice and heart," but also "to his attending angels, who guarded his bed when he fell asleep." See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 364.

myself under to you, and the sense I have of the privilege and happiness of this dear friendship."

" . . . God's goodness to you does give me joy. For this I have many times greatly rejoiced, and hope to rejoice in it forever."

" . . . If there is any thing right in my heart, it often most sensibly appears in its readiness to unite to the dear people of God, and desiring and delighting in their love and friendship."

" . . . I thank you a thousand times for your kindness, and [for the] freedom you use in writing. I pray you to continue it. My heart is disposed to love, esteem, and honor you, and I hope I shall forever be your much obliged friend, S. H."

" . . . I rejoice in the exercises and enjoyments of my dear friend, while your kind Shepherd is feeding you in green, soft pastures, and leading you by still waters. I trust God is with me in some sense and degree at times, in answer to your prayers; which requires the most humble, thankful acknowledgments from me, while I confess and lament my awful barrenness. It has often been observed, that God can feed his children by a raven. How disagreeable is separation! — not being allowed to meet my dear friends as usual! How happy they who know what true friendship is, and shall be brought together never to part again! In hope of this happiness, I rest, yours, in the bonds of the most sacred friendship, S. H."

" . . . Excuse the scantiness of this, and suffer me yet to place myself among your most sincere, cordial, obliged, affectionate friends. I hope and trust I shall be so, as long as I am S. Hopkins."

Can we wonder, that a man who had so strong attachments to his fellow-men, delighted also in using the strongest expressions of love to the great King; in surrendering all interests to him, for this world and the next; in exalting him as a Sovereign, high above all creatures? This is Hopkinsianism, as it appears in its original defenders. We have heard much of "the Arctic regions of Hopkinsianism," of its "hyperborean wildernesses." Such remarks are forcible. But the men who originated the Hopkinsian peculiarities were men of warm hearts as well as cool heads. The doctrines and the spirit of their system are indicated in the following statement of one who knew the private habits of the Newport divine, and testifies that "he would sometimes come from his study, where he had been intensely engaged in the contemplation of the law made honorable and magnified by the atonement, and would walk across his parlor floor for the space of two or three hours, pressing his hands together in the most ravishing delight, and seemingly in such an ecstasy as to be unable to contain himself." * Stern as he was in his logical processes, he would often weep in the pulpit and at the communion table, so as to make his utterance indistinct.

Sect. XXVI. EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR UPON THE MINISTRY OF MR. HOPKINS.

The discouraging influence of the Canadian wars upon the minister of Great Barrington has been noticed already. His heart was

* Statement of Mrs. Hopkins, as found in Ferguson's Memoir, p. 131.

far more saddened, however, by the effect of the revolutionary war upon his pastorate in Rhode Island. He was in a patriotic and resolute little colony. It claims to have struck the first blow resulting in the revolution. The British armed sloop Liberty was scuttled and burned, in defiance of the crown, by the people of Newport, as early as August, 1769. The armed schooner Gaspee was destroyed by them in June, 1772. The tea was not thrown overboard in Boston harbor until 1773. Newport burned with a revolutionary spirit, during all the disputes which preceded the general resort to arms. Its harbor was early blockaded by the British. In December, 1776, the British troops, numbering eight or ten thousand, commanded by General Clinton and Lord Percy, took possession of the town. There were many Tories in the place; but the Whigs, as many as were able, fled to the inland retreats. It was of no use for the clergy to remain. Dr. Stiles left on the 13th of March, 1776. Mr. Hopkins sent his family to Great Barrington two years before; but, true to his instinct of holding on to the last, he himself clung to Newport until the December of '76. Some of his congregation, who remained in the town, were imprisoned by the enemy. His parsonage was destroyed by the British troops. His meeting-house was used as a barrack and hospital. Its pulpit and pews were demolished, its windows were broken or lost, and its bell was carried away by the enemy evacuating the town. In the same manner did the British treat every church edifice, except the Episcopal, in the place. During the cold weather, they were quartered in the private houses of the town, and did much to annoy those inhabitants who had not escaped from the siege. They cut down for fuel the groves of forest-trees, and the rich fruit and ornamental trees which had every where adorned the island. They injured or destroyed the fences and wharves of the town. When they left it, in October, 1779, "the general appearance of the greater portion of the buildings was truly distressing; sashes and glass mostly gone, and windows boarded up, with here and there a solitary square of glass cut into the boarding, and often not more than one square to a window." * About four hundred and eighty buildings had been destroyed. In the spring of 1780, Mr. Hopkins returned to his desolate parish, after an absence of more than three years. If, like Dr. Stiles, he had never returned, he would not have been blamed by the world. Many of his congregation had made their permanent homes elsewhere. The remainder were impoverished and dejected. The town, also, having lost its wealth, a full half of its population, and nearly all its eminent capitalists, lost therewith its public spirit. All the religious societies received a severe shock, under which some of

* Memoir of Rhode Island, by Henry Bull, Esq., in the Rhode Island Republican, No. 1460.

them, as the Sabbatarian and the Jewish, languished until they died. Nor was poverty the sole evil. After the British had retained possession of the place nearly three years, the French army were stationed there about nine months. The French officers instilled their infidel principles into some of the best minds of Newport, and thus left an influence which Mr. Hopkins toiled through his remaining life to counteract. Thus at Newport, as well as at Great Barrington, did this patriotic minister suffer with and for his country. After the revolution, he was obliged to accommodate himself to a new style of character and of manners. The old, rich families had been scattered, never to reässemble at Newport, or else had been denuded of their possessions, or else had been supplanted by the young republicans whom our independence had called up from obscure life. At the age of sixty, he was not supple enough to comply with those peculiar democratic changes which the revolution introduced into the Narraganset country. He lived through a part of two singularly different ages there. He could have labored more effectively had there been no such transition; for he was less flexible than strong.

When this indefatigable man returned to his parish, he conducted public worship at first in a private house, afterward in the Sabbatarian meeting-house. But, complying with a vote of his church, he wrote, in 1782, a pathetic appeal to his Christian friends, "in Boston and Connecticut States," for aid in repairing his own church edifice, and also sustaining in it the ordinances of the gospel. Dr. Spring's church at Newburyport responded to this appeal, in a donation of eighteen pounds; the Federal Street Church, of the same place, sent him twenty-eight pounds; and the church of Professor Peres Fobes, of Raynham, sent a pulpit. Still the poor man received no regular salary for himself. During the first year after his return, his society did not even dare to take up a contribution for his support. At the close of that year, he was invited and urged to settle in the ministry at Middleboro', Massachusetts, where he could be well remunerated. His affectionate people, however, entreated him to remain, and promised to make sacrifices for his sustenance. He complied with their wishes; but, at the end of three and a half years from his return, when the expenses of living were unusually high,* he wrote to his church a pitiful letter, informing them that he had been, during their past discouragements, "loath to complain and make known [his] wants to the congregation;" and had been compelled to use for his

* In his letters written during this period, Mr. Hopkins often describes the suffering of the Newport poor, especially for fuel. The British had made such havoc with the forests, that, during the winter after their departure, wood was sold for twenty dollars *per* cord. Corn was sold at four dollars *per* bushel. See Memoir of Rhode Island, by Henry Bull, Esq., in the Rhode Island Republican, No. 1460. This, however, was an uncommonly severe winter, and expenses were subsequently reduced.

"*house-rent and a suit of clothes*," and for the support of his family, a portion of the ninety-eight pounds which had been sent by Christians in other places for the support of the gospel at Newport. His church, burdened with the care of its poor laymen, justified its pastor in this appropriation, which he had been compelled to make for the sustenance of his household; yet how humiliating that such a man should be reduced to such penury! *

It is well known that Mr. Hopkins has been blamed for not raising up his church from this depressed condition, for not rolling back the tide of infidelity which had set in from France, for not rousing the energies of his dispirited people. He has been thus blamed by the very men who believe that God is a Sovereign in the bestowment of spiritual, as well as temporal blessings. All preachers have not the same gifts; and although we may suppose that a Bellamy would have attracted large audiences in Newport, after the revolution, we cannot think it strange, that a student, like Hopkins, between the age of sixty-three and that of eighty-three, failed to restore his congregation to its former prosperity. They remained poor. He lived and died poor. Let us now consider his "disinterested benevolence."

Sect. XXVII. CONDUCT IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY.

He was an optimist. His theology made him such. "He was an illustration," says Dr. Channing, "of the power of our spiritual nature. In narrow circumstances, with few outward indulgences, in great seclusion, he yet found much to enjoy. He lived in a world of thought, above all earthly passions." — "It has been my privilege to meet with other examples of the same character; with men who, amidst privation, under bodily infirmity, and with none of those materials of enjoyment which the multitude are striving for, live in a world of thought, and enjoy what affluence never dreamed of, — men having nothing and yet possessing all things; and the sight of such has done me more good, has spoken more to my head and heart, than many sermons and volumes. I have learned the sufficiency of the mind to itself, its independence on outward things." † There is something truly sublime in the record which Hopkins has left of his scholarly and Christian independence, after his church had been enfeebled by the war. His words are:

"I then concluded to stay at Newport, and my wife and one daughter came to live with me, as the rest of my children were otherwise settled. There was

* We feel a humiliation of the same kind, when Hopkins describes to us the pecuniary prospects of President Edwards, and says: "His correspondents and other friends in Scotland, hearing of his dismission, and fearing it might be the means of bringing him into worldly straits, generously contributed a handsome sum, and sent it over to him."

† Works, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353.

no particular sum mentioned which they [*i. e.*, my society] would give; and thus I have lived ever since, receiving what has been given by a weekly contribution and donations which particular friends have made. I have taken care not to run in debt for the necessaries of life, though frequently if a dollar extraordinary had been called for, it would have rendered me a bankrupt. I have endeavored to live as cheap and low as I could, and be comfortable, and answer the ends of living in my station and business; and have experienced, through a course of years, remarkable interpositions in divine Providence, by which I have been supplied with the necessaries of life in ways unthought of; and have been preserved from suffering, for want of food or raiment, whether I received less or more.* When more than common has been given, calls for living have been equally greater; and when I have received but little, there has been a less demand for necessaries to support the family, and less has been as sufficient as more. This has made me often think of what is said of the children of Israel, with respect to the manna on which they lived: 'He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.' I have been saved from anxiety about living, and have had a thousand times less care and trouble about the world, than if I had [enjoyed] a great abundance, and been in high life, attended with servants, equipage, much company, entertainments, and high living. Being thus freed from worldly care and anxiety, endeavoring to cast my care on God with respect to living, not seeking *great things* in the world, and being in a great measure unconnected with the great and rich in the world, and gay, unprofitable company, I have had more time to attend to my studies, in which, and in a retired life, I have taken the greatest pleasure; and particularly have had leisure to write my 'System of Divinity,' which I hope will not prove useless." †

There was, indeed, a close connection between his "System of Divinity" and his freedom from avarice. He was not tempted to shape his books for the market. No divine has been more free from even a latent wish to trim his words, so as to suit or to get purchasers. He felt no inducement to discard a plain term, or to adopt a vague term, to search out ambiguous phrases on critical questions, to favor a popular, when he did not regard it a true, doctrine, for the sake of gaining that filthy lucre which, in the theological world, is the root of much evil. This fact gives an immense value to his writings. They are the writings of a spiritual and honest man. Their authority would be lessened, if they had come from a soul blunted and debased by a passion for wealth; if they had been published, not to be the fair exponents of his inward faith, but to be sold, — as Voltaire confessed that he himself "wrote history, not to be believed, but to be read."

Equally noble does this freedom from avarice appear in Hopkins, as a pastor. He was frequently receiving offers of eligible stations in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but he chose to suffer affliction for the good of his people. A few weeks after his return to Newport, during the revolutionary war, he writes to Dr. West:

* Mr. Ferguson says that Hopkins was never inclined to inquire into the "sincerity of those who solicited charity. It was enough for him, if they were willing to beg; and in his own deep poverty, he thanked God that he was never solicited when he had nothing to give away." — MS. letter.

† Sketches, pp. 79–81.

"I am fallen into new trials by coming here. My people are poor, and have but little courage. The other inhabitants of the town, almost to a man, are enemies to our prosperity. The leading people of Dr. Stiles's congregation have heartily wished I might never return again, and hoped my congregation would join with them in settling a man whom they should like. They are resolved not to hear me, as they dislike my doctrines in general, and especially my opposition to the slavery of Africans. They are determined to have preaching among themselves, and have applied to Dr. Stiles to send them a candidate. My people have not courage enough to attempt to fix our meeting-house, so as to be fit for us to meet there. We hold public worship in the Seventh-day [Baptist] meeting-house, which, though small, is big enough for us, in our diminished state. But what is worst of all, there is a general stupidity and carelessness about the important things of religion, and the minds of the people are more filled with the cares of this world, than they were when I left them! In a word, we are as a valley of dry bones, very dry, and God only knows whether we shall live."

Still he continued, without faltering, to preach the same unpopular doctrines, in defiance of penury. After a brief interval, he had Dr. Stiles's congregation as his hearers. Unable to sustain a pastor for themselves, they continued to worship with the First Church* until 1786, when they invited Dr. Patten to become their minister. But Dr. Patten was unwilling to be an instrument of reducing the audience and the pecuniary support of Dr. Hopkins, and therefore "waited on Dr. Hopkins, and informed him of the call, and assured him, if by accepting it he should injure his interest, or hurt his feelings, he would refuse. He replied, that he wished him to accept; that it was best for the two societies to be separate."† How easy it would have been for Hopkins to deprive the Second Church of their expected pastor, and thus continue them as subscribers to his maintenance! But he was disinterested. And it is here deserving of remark, that he soon attached Dr. Patten to himself, as a son to a father; and never were two colleagues better united than they, in belief as well as affection.

It is a pleasing fact, that nearly all the letters of Hopkins to his friends are either theological, or else contain some benevolent proposal for the relief of the poor or distressed. About a half century after his death, he was thus mentioned by one who, when a child, was acquainted with his manner of life:

"The doctrine of disinterested benevolence, which was the deep-lying principle of his system, had, in his life and his character, constant and practical illustration. His society was small, and its means not large. Well do I remember the simple, unpainted parsonage, and the testimony every body bore to the daily and self-sacrificing charity of the pastor. He accepted literally the saying of St. Paul, that he was ready to be [accursed] for the glory of God: how willing was he to 'sell all, and to give to the poor!' It was the custom then to go to 'look on the face of the dead;' and though very young, I went with others to see this patriarch saint in his coffin. The memory of him then, and of his exhaustless love, kindness, and charity, is fresher

* See p. 82 of this Memoir. † Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 91, 92.

with me than are any of the peculiar doctrinal views which, in his great infirmity and age, he gave to us from the pulpit." *

Sect. XXVIII. THREE YEARS' ABSENCE FROM NEWPORT.

From December, 1776, until the spring of 1781, Mr. Hopkins labored in Massachusetts and Connecticut. We have already seen † that a large donation was sent to his church from Newburyport, in 1783. This was, in part, an acknowledgment of his services there during the summer of 1777. On the 19th of June in that year, he writes to Dr. West:

"I have engaged to preach here to the congregation [now Federal Street] to which Mr. Parsons used to minister, for some time, perhaps all summer. It is, I suppose, the largest congregation on the continent. A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries. I have concluded I have a call to stay here for the present, as there seems to be a prospect of doing good among a people who are not so much prejudiced against the truth as many are, and yet most of them are much in the dark. I hope there is a considerable number of good Christians here. I am disposed to make the prayer of the Psalmist, [cxix. 79,] 'Let those that fear thee turn unto me, and those that have known thy testimonies.' If I may be useful to these, by expounding unto them the way of God more perfectly, I shall be happy; and who knows but the heart of some poor sinner may be opened by Christ to attend to the truths that shall be spoken? As I have now, in some degree, the charge of such a multitude of souls, it has brought a new burden upon me. Who is sufficient for these things? The affair of baptism seems to be settled between Mr. Spring and the people, who have given him a call, they having nothing wherewith to oppose him. But another peril yet more dreadful, if possible, is come into view, viz., *unregenerate doings*. Mr. Spring is determined to preach on the subject next Sabbath, and open his mind fully. It is most probable they will not set up against him in this, and that he will settle among them, and I hope will be greatly useful in this town." ‡

The hope which Mr. Hopkins indulged, of being useful to some one of his new charge, was gratified; and it is curious to trace the lines through which his influence upon a single hearer was disseminated, at length, over multitudes whom he never knew. That hearer was Miss Abigail Goodhue, then a young lady of twenty-one years. Her biographer says of her:

"She had a mind to appreciate, and a heart to receive instructions like those communicated by Mr. Hopkins — clear, deep, comprehensive, and

* A Lecture delivered before the Mechanics Apprentices' Library Association, January, 1845, by Walter Channing, M. D., Boston, Massachusetts.

† See p. 91.

‡ Both Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Spring encountered much opposition in the town during this summer. Rev. S. P. Williams says, in his Historical Account of the Federal Street Church, that "although some few of his [Mr. H.'s] tenets were peculiarly odious to the church and congregation, he was heard with candor during the whole period of his engagement." The subject of baptism was one of the main causes of dissension; and on that subject the majority of evangelical Christians would now coincide with Mr. Hopkins, rather than with his opponents in that controversy.

strongly doctrinal. She heard him with profound attention, and was greatly affected with his preaching. Though a stranger, he soon marked the interest with which she listened to the word of life, and concluded that she was either a young disciple or a serious inquirer on the subject of religion. He sought an acquaintance with her.

"The first interview is thus described [by Miss Goodhue]: 'My mind was solemn, but not quite free from perturbation, which being noticed by Mr. Hopkins, he conversed for a few moments in a free and condescending manner, when my fears left me. He was now ready to introduce the subject he had so much at heart. He asked me how the truths I had heard him deliver affected my mind; whether I had any hope that I had experienced a renovation of heart; how long I had been serious; whether I did not think it my duty to unite with some church. In person he was large, in mien dignified, and his open, manly countenance beamed sweet benignity and benevolence. I loved him as a father, and revered him as a messenger of God, sent to comfort my desponding heart. I wanted to conceal nothing of my spiritual trials; and he attended to all my perplexities with paternal interest.' This interview, and others, were remembered by her with gratitude during life. Speaking of a pastoral visit made by Mr. Hopkins at the house of Mrs. Coombs, she says, 'His conversation was condescending and kind, and before he left us he prayed in a feeling and solemn manner. Indeed, he seemed to me more like his divine Master than any one I had ever seen.'" *

After Mr. Hopkins left Newburyport, he wrote a letter to Miss Goodhue, and enclosed in it one from his daughter. Miss Goodhue thus speaks of the incident: "I was affected with this token of fatherly affection, and soon returned an answer. Is not this good man's finding a poor, disconsolate orphan, as I was, in a large assembly, and pouring cordials into my fainting heart, a token for good? Trust in God, O my soul, for I shall yet praise him."

"How long the correspondence by letter continued," remarks her biographer, "I do not know; but the Christian friendship between this servant of Christ and 'a desolate orphan' continued so long as he lived, and, doubtless, is since perpetuated in a better world. She confided in his friendship and judgment, drank in his instructions, and followed his counsels. And certainly they had a decided influence upon her future life. In accordance with the advice of Mr. Hopkins, she attended meeting in the North Church, where Rev. Samuel Spring had been settled." †

After listening to the discourses of Dr. Spring about thirteen years, Miss Goodhue spent a winter in the family of his brother-in-law, Dr. Emmons, and there was affianced to Rev. K. Bayley, then a theological student of Dr. Emmons. After her marriage to him, she lived nearly twenty-seven years at Newcastle, Maine, where she adorned the vocation of a pastor's wife. She was particularly useful to the young men in Newcastle Academy, more than a hundred of whom boarded, at different times, in her house, and some of whom became interested there in religious truth. She was a friend and correspondent of some distinguished *literati*. She was among the first to labor for the establishment of a theological school at Bangor. Her husband "had as much agency, perhaps, as any other man, in the founding of our seminary," says one of its most intelligent friends. And Mrs. Bayley's biographer records of her and of two other ladies with whom she coöperated: "But for their prayers and influence, perhaps the theological institution of Bangor might not have been established." ‡ In 1814, she writes: "Blessed be God for honoring me, unworthy as I am, with giving the first mite to the treasurer for [Bangor seminary.] This was the freewill offering of a number of females in different places, whose hearts the Lord has made to feel for their

* See Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Bayley, [formerly Miss Goodhue,] a Pilgrim of Ninety Years, by Daniel O. Morton, A. M., author of "The Life of Rev. Levi Parsons," pp. 32–34.

† Ib. pp. 34, 35.

‡ Ib. p. 145.

fellow immortals. The Lord bless them individually with his special love. The little sum was one hundred and sixty dollars. The Lord make it to increase a thousand fold. Blessed be God for making me his almoner." * "Mrs. Bayley persevered," adds her biographer, "in this labor of love, till she had collected and paid to the treasurer of the Maine Theological Seminary, nearly two thousand dollars."

It is an interesting fact, that four others who were among the first in projecting that school of the prophets were Hopkinsian divines. Still more interesting is the fact, that all the professors who have taught systematic theology there, have been recognized as Hopkinsians. Is it too much to say, that the Rhode Island pastor, when he spent the summer of 1777 in Newburyport, was exerting an influence, real, though indirect and remote, on the seminary of Maine? He made deep and lasting impressions, when he made any; and when we remember the wonderful modes in which moral influence is perpetuated and diffused, is it visionary to surmise, that he also gave some impulses, then and there, which affected the seminary at Andover? He aided the most vigorous projector of that institution, Dr. Spring, in his incipient troubles at Newburyport. He maintained, until his dying day, a regular correspondence with friends in that goodly place. He made an impression on the community to which Moses Brown and William Bartlet belonged, and these two men were munificent founders of the seminary. They revered his memory,† and their interest in the Andover school resulted from impressions *like* those, if not precisely and in any degree from *those*, which he made upon themselves and their townsmen.

The winter of 1777–8 he passed in Canterbury, Connecticut, "preaching to a destitute congregation there." During the spring and summer of 1778, he supplied the pulpit of his deceased classmate, Rev. Dr. Noah Wells, at Stamford, Connecticut. From the autumn of 1778 to the spring of 1780, he preached in North Stamford, which was then a missionary field. He endeavored to cultivate it by a system of pastoral visitation. But he found here, as elsewhere, that the people were afraid of him. "On one occasion he called on a family, and as soon as he was descried by the younger members of it, they all fled. After sitting some time, he told the father that he wished to offer prayer, and to have the youth and children called into the room. After much lingering and many expressions of timidity, on his part as well as on theirs, he began to pray; and he manifested so much pathos and tenderness, that all the members of the family were affected to tears, and one or two of

* Pp. 162, 163.

† When Hopkins preached at Newburyport, Mr. Brown was in his thirty-fifth year, and Mr Bartlet in his thirtieth. The last-named gentleman often expressed to the writer his profound regard for Hopkins, Spring, and Emmons. He contributed largely to the circulation of Hopkins's works.

them became, from that interview, personally interested in religion." * From his correspondence we learn, that he adopted measures for organizing a church in this parish. One was formed soon after he removed to his Newport home.

Sect. XXIX. CHRISTIAN EDIFICATION: THE OSBORN SOCIETY.

Although the church of Mr. Hopkins was reduced by the revolutionary war, it still comprised many eminent Christians. His ministerial success was in edifying saints, more than in converting sinners. He may have been a means of as much good in deepening the piety, as other ministers are in augmenting the number, of the converted. "Men are to be weighed, not counted;" and he is a useful man, who so cultivates the mind and heart of others, as to make them models to surviving generations. The world have not known how joyful Mr. Hopkins was, in perceiving that the faith of the faithful was strengthened, and the wisdom of the wise was increased, by his instructive sermons. "I *know*," he writes to one who had been reanimated by him in the divine life, — "I *know* I am utterly unworthy of your esteem and friendship, and yet I take a peculiar pleasure in it. Your expressions of the benefit you have received by my means, are peculiarly affecting, and give me inexpressible pleasure, while they excite thanksgiving to God, and recall to my mind the strong cries and tears with which I sought God when coming to Newport, that I might be a means of good to his dear children here, and feed his sheep and lambs. O, what obligations am I under to God! What encouragement to wait on him, and ask the greatest things! He will outdo all our desires."

This modest man, in despite of all his charges against himself, went even so far as to confess, once at least, in public, that he had done some good; for he says in his Autobiography:

"But few persons have appeared to have been awakened and converted by means of my preaching. The most apparent good it has ever been the means of doing, is the instruction, quickening, and comfort of Christians. Many of this character, and especially those who have appeared most eminent in discerning and Christian experience, have highly approved of my preaching, which has been a great support and encouragement to me; though I have been often disposed to attribute their satisfaction and approbation to their high relish for the truth, however poor and defective the delivery and exhibition of it may be." †

Among those who received especial benefit from the discourses of this humble preacher, were several pious women, who gave character to the religious society of Newport. He had learned of their excellence before he ever visited Newport. He had been rather

* MS. Letter of Rev. H. Fuller. † Pp. 88, 89.

afraid of them, as he was apt to be of famous women. But he gave up his fears, as soon as he saw their worth and usefulness. We have already seen that President Stiles alludes to a certain "sorority," who favored Mr. Hopkins's settlement. This was a religious association, formed by some females of the First Church, as early as 1741. The design of the association was, to promote the spiritual good of its members, and the general interests of religion, by reading, conversation, alms, and especially by prayer. Its meetings were held every Wednesday or Thursday afternoon. It had a regular presiding officer, and a constitution embracing many excellent moral rules. In 1772, it contained more than sixty members. Three years before Dr. Hopkins's decease, Mr. William Gyles gave "the south end of his house" to be the property of the society, so long as it should continue to meet "for praying." In 1806, it was incorporated by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, with the name of the Religious Female Society. This name was changed by the same Assembly, in 1826, to the "Osborn Society." The association still survives in vigor, after an existence of a hundred and ten years, and still holds its regular meetings in the Osborn house. The General Assembly of Rhode Island is, perhaps, the first legislature in our land, which gave corporate powers to a distinctive "Praying Circle."

The society was formed under the auspices of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a niece of the celebrated Dr. John Guyse, of London. She remained the first president of the society more than fifty years, and had its meetings at her home. She was a remarkable woman. Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, seeing one of her letters to a female friend, in 1755, was so much interested in it, that he secured its publication in a pamphlet of fourteen or fifteen octavo pages. It passed through three editions. Long before Mr. Hopkins went to Newport, Madam Osborn had been esteemed as the spiritual adviser of the church. She retained the delicacy of a woman, and yet was consulted by whites and blacks, as if she had been a minister. When she had become almost blind, her conversations on theology were instructive to her pastor, and her Christian example was his great joy. Every Saturday afternoon, as long as her decrepitude allowed the privilege, he took tea at her house. She, as well as himself, had been wont to spend the last day of the week as the "preparation day" for the Sabbath; and at the close of her "fasting and prayer," she gave the results of her solitary meditation to him who was on the morrow to address the people of God. At her death, she left more than fifty volumes in manuscript, the smallest of them containing nearly a hundred pages, the larger part of them containing more than two hundred; and some, more than three hundred. Dr. Hopkins spent a year in perusing this mass of

manuscript, and compiling the Biography of its author. This Biography has been useful to multitudes.

In the same house with Madam Osborn lived Miss Susanna Anthony, her most intimate friend for more than fifty years. Miss Anthony, although inferior to Madam Osborn in personal attractions, was equally eminent for her spirit of devotion. Dr. Patten was informed by a member of the Praying Circle, that she "would continue an hour in prayer, without any hesitance or repetition; without any thing redundant or defective; but [all was] appropriate to what appeared to be the objects of prayer, so that they who united with her were sensible of no weariness, nor even conscious of the lapse of time." Mr. Hopkins learned from the same source, that "it was impossible to convey an adequate idea of the copiousness, the pertinence, and the spirit of her prayer."* She, too, was an uncommon theologian, and held a protracted correspondence with Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut, Dr. West, of Stockbridge, and other divines. Her Memoir was published by Dr. Hopkins, soon after her death, and an abridged edition of it has been since published by Dr. Pond, of Bangor Theological Seminary. A collection of her letters was also prepared for the press, by the widow of Dr. Hopkins.

Of Madam Osborn and Miss Anthony, their biographer says:

"They were, in my judgment, the most eminent female Christians with whom I have had any acquaintance. The public, and even Christians, who never were acquainted with them, will not, by reading what is published of them, have a full and adequate idea of their excellent character. I think it a great happiness to have been intimately acquainted with them for near thirty years, and to enjoy their friendship and prayers. I hope that what is published of them will be of great benefit to the church, not only in this generation, but in ages yet to come."†

There were nine or ten other Christians, of rare excellence, in that Praying Circle; as Miss Mary, sister of Susanna Anthony; Mrs. Mason, Miss Elizabeth West, and Miss Mary Donelly. Of the person last named, a good judge of character has said, that "she continued until her death," which occurred many years after that of Dr. Hopkins, "to exert an influence over the church, which greatly abridged the labors, while it eminently promoted the usefulness, of her pastor. Assembling the sisterhood around her, she exerted a controlling influence over them; it was an influence, too, of the most lovely kind, — an influence which brought them around her by the ties of affection, which entered into all their sympathies, and which appeared to be solely exercised in doing good." Might I be allowed to bear the same testimony to her memory, which Dr. Hopkins bore

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 63, 64. See also Ferguson's Life of Hopkins, pp. 92, 93.

† Sketches of Hopkins's Life, p. 105.

to the memory of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Osborn, I would say, she was in person, manners, and character, the most interesting and excellent female Christian with whom I have ever been acquainted." *

When we catch a glimpse of Hopkins, walking through one of the green and narrow lanes of Newport, to meet these pious women at their hour of prayer, and when we afterward think of him as the champion of high Calvinism, as putting his adversaries to the rout by his stubborn argument, we must feel that he had a great character, and combined in an unusual degree the stout antagonist with the meek Christian.

Sect. XXX. HOPKINS MISREPRESENTED.

"He was thought by some, who had but a slight acquaintance with him, to be stiff and unsociable; but this was owing to want of better acquaintance." How groundless the imputation was, "his known and tried friends best knew. They always found him easy of access, kind, and condescending; and though not talkative, yet affable and free. Among such, whose candor and friendship he had experienced, he threw off the reserve, and was most open and free; quite patient of contradiction, while the utmost opposition was made to his sentiments that could be by any plausible arguments or objections. And, indeed, he was, on all occasions, quite sociable and free with all who had any special business with him."

So writes Hopkins concerning his theological instructor; † and had he himself not been equally uncommunicative to strangers who had no "special business with him," he would have avoided some of the misrepresentations which he actually suffered.

He may be defended against the charge of being "stiff and unsociable," just as he defended his theological teacher. Although the home of Dr. Channing had been for twenty years within a few feet of Hopkins's parsonage, although for a short time he had sat under Hopkins's ministry and attended his catechetical exercises, yet Channing says:

"It was not until I had left college that I became acquainted with him, and a short intercourse dispelled all the fear and reserve which my early impressions had left in my mind. His conversation was free, rather abrupt, blunt, and often facetious. We saw, at once, that he had lived in his study, and borrowed very little from the manners of the fashionable world. He took pleasure in talking with me of his past life, his controversies, &c., and I regret that I took no notes, and did not, by questions, acquaint myself with the progress of his mind." ‡

A Baptist clergyman of some celebrity writes:

"When I commenced my residence in Newport, I determined not to go near Dr. Hopkins; for, like many others, I had formed from his writings an unfavorable opinion of his character. But I was obliged, by some peculiar

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp, 94, 95.
† Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, pp. 48, 49.
‡ Letter of February 14, 1840.

circumstances, to alter my determination; and before I had been in his presence one half hour, I was completely disarmed of my aversion, and won over to the love of him. And now, in my old age, I say that if I have ever been instrumental in doing any thing for the Redeemer, I owe it all, under God, to my intercourse, which has been long and frequent, with Dr. Hopkins." *

There were many persons, however, who did not penetrate through the seeming reserve of Mr. Hopkins's manners, and who, therefore, never appreciated his real worth. He had an original character, and this is always misunderstood. The following incidents, which occurred at Newport, will illustrate the general style in which his person, as well as his theology, has been treated. It is the less surprising that he should have been thus misrepresented in the State of Rhode Island; for that worthy State was, in the days of Hopkins, more famous for its enchanting scenery, and for the generous enterprise of its citizens, than for their attachment to the strict principles of Calvinism, or to any kind of *metaphysics* in theology.

"A gentleman of respectability said to the writer [Dr. Patten], Have you heard the report of the unfeeling, the almost inhuman conduct of the old Doctor? I replied, I had not; what is it? He answered, I do not know that it is true, but it is reported that there was a child of a widow near his house, and whom he might have occasionally seen in his house of worship. This child was taken sick, and on hearing of it he went to see her. He found her mother in the sitting-room, and inquired if her daughter was sick. On being informed that she was, he said he wished to see her. The mother, from his known severity, feared the interview might be injurious to her daughter, and wishing to evade his design, told him that her daughter was on the bed, and attempting to compose herself to sleep, and hoped he would call some other time. But he observed, that he was an old man, and it was difficult for him to leave home, and that he must see her then. On this, arising, as though he would find her, he inquired, 'Where is she?' Her distressed mother, under this constraint, requested him to follow her, and introduced him to the sick chamber. The child, on seeing him, manifested alarm. He approached her bed, and said, 'You are sick, child.' 'Yes, sir, I have a violent headache.' 'But do you not know that you may die by this sickness?' 'Yes, sir, I know I may.' 'And do you know that if you do not repent, and believe in Christ before you die, you will go to hell?' The alarm, it was supposed, increased the disease of the child, and in three or four days she expired. This was the report. Wishing to know the circumstances of the case, I called on Dr. H. in his study, and the following conversation ensued: 'I have heard, sir, there was a funeral in your neighborhood a few days since.' 'Yes, a child was buried last week from a house not far distant.' 'Had you any acquaintance with the child?' 'Yes, she lived in my family some time, and had returned home but a few days before she was taken sick.' 'Did you know of her sickness before her death?' 'Yes; when her case seemed fixed, her mother came with a request from the child that I would go and see her, and I went immediately.' 'In what state did you find her?' 'Her fever was high; but, to my surprise, she appeared acquainted with her heart, and the way of salvation, and was calm and resigned; and I think there is reason to hope she was a true Christian.' 'But was there nothing unpleasant occurred during your intercourse with her?' 'Not any thing; why do you ask?' I then related the rumor. He appeared struck with unusual surprise and grief, and exclaimed, 'O, the blindness and wickedness of

* Ferguson's Memoir, p. 134.

some men!' The only ground of the slanderous report was, that a child in the neighborhood had a fever, that Dr. H. visited her, and in a few days she died.

"Another instance: the writer was in the house of a woman who belonged to a different denomination of Christians; but being situated near Dr. H.'s meeting-house, I inquired if she had ever gone into it to hear him preach. She replied, 'No, I hope not; a man of such doctrine I never wish to hear.' 'What doctrine?' I inquired. 'Why, that *there are infants in hell not a span long.*' 'You never heard him preach it; did you ever find it in any of his writings?' 'No, I never read any of his writings, nor would allow one of his books to be in my house.' I then assured the woman that she had been misinformed. What she stated had been the common calumny, for several centuries, against the ministers of the gospel who had preached the natural depravity of mankind. The doctrine of Dr. H. was nothing more. So far from believing that 'there were infants in hell not a span long,' I had heard him repeatedly declare that he did not believe there was one infant in hell. Though it was difficult for her to resign her prejudice, yet, confiding in my veracity, she did not persist in vindicating it." *

One cold morning, Dr. Hopkins went out early, "to purchase a piece of flannel, and called at the first store in his way, which was kept by a young gentleman of undoubted integrity, and of a very respectable family. He measured the flannel and threw it on the counter, and while he was making change of the money for pay, Dr. H. cursorily said, 'Is that a yard?' The young man resentfully replied, 'Yes, sir; I am not such a rogue as to keep a short yardstick.' Dr. H. added, 'I had not the least suspicion of it.' But thinking he placed too much confidence in himself, he rejoined, 'Though you are now honest, you are not out of danger of falling, for many young men who were as confident in their integrity as yourself, have committed greater crimes, and been brought to the gallows.' The next day, his deacon called on him, and informed him that a rumor was circulating in town which excited great indignation against him, and which he knew could not be true, but requested that he would state the facts, that he might refute it.' Dr. H. inquired, 'What rumor?' The deacon replied, 'It is said that you went into the store of such a young gentleman, and requested a yard of flannel; that when he had measured it for you, you denied it to be just measure, charged him with keeping a false yardstick, and said he was in danger of coming to the gallows.' On this, the doctor observed, 'I believe, deacon, I had better give you no information on the subject; for there was no one in the store with the young gentleman and myself, and there is no witness of the transaction. The rumor must have originated with the young gentleman; and were I to say it is false, it would be charging him with lying, which would be a real censure on his character that I am not able to prove. If true, he might, to vindicate his own representation, say [that] the old man is ashamed of what he said, and, to save his reputation, prevaricates. Thus, bad as the affair now is, it would be worse. What is your opinion, deacon?' The deacon replied, 'I think with you, sir, that the subject had better be left to take its own course.'" †

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 121–125.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 117–119. This incident illustrates the consistency of Hopkins's conduct with his principles. It is in striking coincidence with his remarks on the "Discipline of the Church," in his System, vol. ii. pp. 171–182, particularly p. 179. All accounts agree that Hopkins described himself when he speaks of President Edwards, as "taking great care never to use [his tongue] in any way that might prove mischievous to any; never to *sin with his tongue*, nor to improve [?] it in idle, trivial, and impertinent talk, which generally makes up a great part of the conversation of those who are full of words in all companies. He was sensible that in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin, and therefore refrained his lips, and habituated himself to *think* before he spoke, and to purpose some good end even in all his words; which led him to be, above many others, agreeable to St. James's advice, *slow to speak*." Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, p. 48.

Dr. Channing describes an interview, at the Redwood Library, between Hopkins and "a singular man named Stuart, or Stewart, sometimes called 'the walking philosopher,' in consequence of his having travelled over a good part of the world on foot. Stuart was a man of much kindness, too kind to lay his weight on a horse, or to eat animal food, or even to kill a mosquito when sucking his blood; but he was an atheist, and let drop some expression of his opinions before Dr. Hopkins. The Doctor was moved to indignation, and cried out, 'You fool! were it not for God, you could not move a step from where you stand.' Stuart replied calmly to Dr. Patten, who was present, 'The old gentleman seems disturbed.'"* Other persons acquainted with the scene here noticed, deny, and Dr. Channing does not affirm, that this stern reprover exhibited any unjustifiable passion in pronouncing him to be a fool who "said in his heart, There is no God." The reproof did not affect the friendly relations which had long subsisted between the divine and the eccentric author. It was understood to be nothing more than "plain speech." Infidels were wont to encounter the stalwart theologian, and they learned not to treasure up ill will in memory of his homely thrusts. Strangers, however, often supposed his pertinence to be impertinence, and mistook the decisive tones of his voice for signs of unwarranted passion.

They also misunderstood his *inquisitiveness* of mind. It must be allowed that he was excessively fond of asking questions — a fault which a native of New England should be slow to condemn. He was one of those who "through desire separate themselves, and seek to intermeddle with all knowledge." It was natural that the very trait which fitted him to be a theologian, should develop itself sometimes in too interrogative a style of conversation. In the eighth edition of the Autobiography of Rev. John Murray, the pioneer of Universalism in our land, is a vivid narrative of an interview between himself and our inquisitive divine. The picture is drawn by an opposer of Hopkins, and we may presume that it would have been differently colored, "if the lion had been the painter." Shaded as it is, however, it illustrates the eager curiosity and the decisive tones of the Newport minister, as well as the authority which once belonged to the "New England bishops." Explained as it ought to be, it does not warrant the belief, which Mr. Murray seems to have entertained, that Hopkins was irritated.† The two preachers were riding together on horseback, in the autumn of 1773, a distance of about forty miles, from Preston, in Connecticut, to Newport, in Rhode Island. Mr. Murray says:‡

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

† See p. 63 of this Memoir.

‡ Life, pp. 169–177. For the sake of convenience, Mr. Hopkins's part of the dialogue is here printed in italics.

"In the course of the day, Mr. H. thus questioned me: '*Well, sir, I suppose you will preach in Newport.*' — Very likely, sir. — '*You have friends there, I presume.*' — No, sir, I do not know a single soul. — '*You have letters of recommendation, perhaps.*' — Not a line, sir. — '*Where, then, do you intend to go, and what do you intend to do?*' — I have laid no plans, sir. — '*I promise you, you shall not preach in my meeting.*' — I should be very much surprised, if I did, sir. — '*And I suppose you think you are called of God to go to Newport.*' — I think it is not unlikely, sir. — '*I believe you will find yourself mistaken.*' — It is possible. — '*Suppose you should find no place to preach in, what would you do then?*' — Devote myself to private conversation. — '*But suppose you could find no one to converse with.*' — Then I would turn about and come back again. — '*But what would you think of your faith?*' — Call it fancy. But, at present, I think I shall preach the gospel in Newport; and, although I am an utter stranger, knowing no one, nor known by any one, yet I expect, before I leave the place, to have many friends. — '*Ay, these are fine fancies, indeed.*' — Had you not better suspend your decision until you witness the result? Will it not then be full time to determine whether it be *faith* or *fancy?* — '*If it should not be as I predict, I should not be ashamed to own my error; if it should, you ought to blush for your unwarrantable confidence. But as it is not impossible you may preach in that city, and that some of my people may be among the number of your hearers, I think I have a right to question you.*' — If God will give me leave to preach to *his* people, I am content. — '*What do you mean by that, sir?*' — Your observation brought to my mind, what, on a certain occasion, a very distinguished servant of God said to his master, when he was told to go down and see what *his people* were doing: 'O Lord, they are not my people, they are thy people.' However, Moses was not settled on your plan. — '*Well, sir, I look upon my people to be God's people.*' — You are perfectly right, sir; so indeed they are; and if I speak to them at all, I shall speak to them in that character. — '*Well, sir, as you call yourself a preacher of the gospel, and may, as I have said, preach to my people, it is proper I should know what ideas you have of gospel. Tell me, sir, what is gospel?*' — I am happy in being able to give you a direct answer. The gospel, sir, is a solemn declaration, given upon the oath of Jehovah, that in the Seed of Abraham all the nations should be blessed. — '*Is that all you know of gospel?*' — Would it not, my good sir, require a very long time to inform mankind *who* and *what* that Seed is, how and in what manner all the nations of the earth *are* and *shall be blessed therein*; and what blessings they are blessed with, *in Christ Jesus?* The apostle Paul, although he labored more abundantly than his brethren, found this vast, this important subject, abundantly sufficient for his *whole life*; and those who are blessed in that Seed will find the contemplation of that blessedness which they shall be blessed with, *in him*, sufficient to furnish a song, which, although never ending, will be ever new. — '*If such be your views, you know nothing at all of gospel.*' — You could not so absolutely determine this matter, if you yourself were not acquainted with the meaning of the term gospel. Tell me then, sir, if you please, what is gospel? — '*Why, sir, this is gospel: He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth* not *shall be damned.*' — Indeed, sir, I had thought the *literal, simple* meaning of the term gospel, was *glad tidings*. Which part of the passage you have cited is gospel, that which announces *salvation*, or that which announces *damnation?* — '*Well, then, if you please, this is gospel: He that believeth shall be saved.*' — Believeth what, sir? — '*That.*' — What, sir? — '*That, I tell you.*' — What, sir? — '*That, I tell you: He that believeth shall be saved.*' — *Believeth what*, sir? What is he to believe? — '*Why, that, I tell you.*' — I wished, sir, to treat this investigation seriously: but, as you seem to be disposed to be rather ludicrous, we will, if you please, dismiss the subject. — '*No, sir, I do not mean to be ludicrous: I am very serious.*' — Well, sir, if so, then I beg leave to ask, What is it I am *to believe, the believing of which will save me?* — '*That Jesus Christ made it* possible *for sinners to be saved.*' — By what means? — '*By believing.*' — Believing what? — '*That.*' — What? — '*That Jesus Christ made it possible*

for sinners to be saved.' — By what means is it possible that sinners may be saved? — '*By believing, I tell you.*' — But the devils believe; will their believing save them? — '*No, sir.*' — Suppose I believe that Jesus Christ made it possible to save sinners; will that save me? — '*No, sir.*' — Then, sir, let me ask, What am I to believe, the believing of which will save me? — '*Why, sir, you must believe the gospel, that Jesus made it possible for sinners to be saved.*' — But by what means? — '*By believing.*' — Believing what? — '*That, I tell you.*'"

After some comments, Mr. Murray adds, (and, according to his own version, he made far more offensive remarks than he received, and was treated with peculiar fairness and moderation by his opposer:)

"Finding the temper of Mr. H. rise higher and higher, every time I repeated my question, I endeavored to bring the matter to a conclusion, by observing that I was astonished to find a master in Israel, and a writer too, either not *able*, or not *willing* to answer a simple question, viz., what am I to believe is the foundation of my salvation? what am I to believe procures my justification in the sight of God? — '*And I am astonished at your blasphemy.*' — This is in character, sir; men of your description were long since fond of fixing this charge on both the Master and his witnesses; but remember, sir, if I have blasphemed, it is only Mr. H. whom I have blasphemed. — '*Well, sir, I believe I have gone too far; I will, if you please, take back the charge.*' — With all my heart, sir. — '*I do not doubt you may be admired in Newport a whole fortnight.*' — That, no doubt, will be fourteen days longer than you would wish. Arriving in sight of Newport, Mr. H. said: '*There, sir, is my meeting-house; at a little distance from thence is my dwelling-house, and my friends are multiplied.*' — Well, sir, I have no home, meeting-house, nor friend, in Newport. Yet, I repeat, before I leave that city, I expect to have more than one home, and many friends. — '*Well, now I think of it, there is one man who has a little place, in which, possibly, you may get leave to preach; I will direct you to a man who has some acquaintance with him.*' — I will thank you, sir, to inform me where my horse may be taken care of; for myself, I have little concern. — '*I promise you horse keeping is very high in Newport.*' — That, sir, is very sad tidings to me, for I promise you my finances are very low. Some very bitter speeches were made; and I regretted that I was so unfortunate as to have taken the journey with Mr. H. Your people, said I, are leavened with the leaven of the Pharisees, and *you* seem to be leavened with the leaven of Herod. — '*What do you mean by the leaven of Herod?*' — I mean the nature of Herod. — '*How does that apply?*' — Some persons urged our Master to fly, in consequence of Herod's seeking his life. *Go*, said he, *tell that fox I work to-day and to-morrow*, &c., &c. Our Master denominated Herod a fox, for the purpose of giving an idea of his nature. What is a fox? a creature that lives upon the spoil; but he is dependent upon the secrecy of the night, and, we are told, in order the more effectually to cover his designs, he sometimes imitates the watch-dog, thus endeavoring to make it appear he is defending the property of the husbandman, while, under the guise of watchful care for others, he is covertly acting for himself, till the morning dawns, till the light appears, and then his labor ends. This is the leaven of Herod, and it was of the nature of this insidious animal, that our Lord cautioned his disciples to beware. — '*Well, there is something ingenious in that, I confess.*' — We reached the ferry a little before sunset, and on landing at Newport, '*There,*' said Mr. H., pointing to a small shop, '*if you will call on that man, he will give you direction.*' I walked on, stopped at the door, and holding the bridle in my hand," etc., etc.

That must certainly be a commendable character, against which its enemies can say nothing worse, than the father of New England

Universalism has said against one of the fathers of Hopkinsianism. Mr. Murray erred, in supposing his antagonist's want of amenity in manners to be an irascibility of temper. Amid all our commendation of Hopkins, we cannot say that he sacrificed to the Graces. His rugged work as a controversialist, did not make him a nice observer of conventional etiquette. Dr. West says, that he was never overbearing in an argument;* his style, however, made him appear so, at times, to strangers. He understood "human nature" far more thoroughly than "human life," and thus he often stirred up prejudices which a more "fashionable" man would have avoided. He was not made for smooth waters. Dr. Channing says, that "he wanted toleration toward those who rejected his views;" † but that he was more intolerant than other Calvinistic divines, Channing did not suppose, and what Channing would call intolerance they would call a needful reverence for the truth. Dr. Ashbel Green says, that Hopkins "is certainly a man of much more candor, liberality, and catholicism than most of his disciples;" ‡ but his disciples have been as liberal and catholic as other Calvinists. A gentleman of literary distinction, who knew Hopkins well, and dissents from the Hopkinsian creed, has the magnanimity to write: "He seems to me, in looking back on that early day, to have been the most individual, identical man with whom I have ever been acquainted, or rather [whom] I have ever seen. He said what he thought, and with a clearness, a distinctness in perfect harmony with the occasion. I do believe that 'disinterested benevolence,' the underlying principle of his stern metaphysics and of his apparently totally impracticable theology, was as real and as operative with him, as is the opposite principle in the hearts and lives of other men."

Sect. XXXI. LETTER TO DR. STILES.

In the rich Literary Diary which President Stiles kept at Yale College, he has inserted the following record, which vividly illustrates the character of his times:

"New Haven, 1781. Received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hopkins, dated Newport, January 26; wherein he says, speaking of the state of religion there, 'Every thing is dark and discouraging here, with respect to the all-important interest. The people in general are going from bad to worse, and I now see no way for my continuing here longer than till spring. Neither your people nor mine are disposed to attend public worship constantly, except a few individuals. There is but little encouragement to preach, where there is so little attention, and so very little concern about any thing invisible. I expected you, sir, would be willing to perform the part of a professor of divinity on the decease of Dr. Daggett, till I was told the contrary by Mr. Fitch. I wish that place may be well supplied. But where is the man to be

* See p. 63 of this Memoir.
† Works, vol. iv. p. 342.
‡ Life of Dr. Green, p. 240.

found? — the man who will accept, and who will be accepted. If I knew of one who probably would be acceptable to the college, and might be willing to make a trial half a year or a year, he must not be mentioned, if he be a New Divinity man.'

"Remark 1. Very lamentable is the state of religion at Newport, and particularly that they will not attend public worship. But,

"2. One occasion of this negligence is brother Hopkins's New Divinity. He has preached his own congregation almost away, or into an indifference. He has fifty or sixty, or more, families of his own congregation in town, and might easily command a good assembly, if his preaching was as acceptable as his moral character. My congregation, gathered in town, are seventy or eighty families, and would gladly attend such preaching as Dr. Owen's, or Dr. Doddridge's, or preachers of far lower abilities, provided they were *ejusdem farinæ* with the first Puritan divines.

"3. Although New Divinity preachers collect some large congregations in some parts, as Taunton, Middleboro', Abington, &c., yet their preaching is acceptable, *not for the new tenets*, but for its containing the *good old doctrines of grace*, on which the new gentlemen are *very sound, and clear, and full*. In other parts, where the neighboring ministers generally preach the old Calvinistic doctrines, the people begin to be tired with the incessant inculcation of the unintelligible and shocking new points; especially, that an unconverted man had better be killing his father and mother than praying for converting grace; that true repentance implies a willingness and desire to be damned for the glory of God; that we are to give God thanks that he has caused Adam to sin, and involve all his posterity in total depravity, that Judas betrayed and the Jews crucified Christ, &c., &c.; that the children of none but communicants are to be baptized, &c.; that the churches and ministers are so corrupt and Laodicean, and have so intermixed with the world, that the New Divinity churches and ministers cannot hold communion, but must and do recede and sequester themselves from them." . . . . .

"4. I do not perceive on whom Mr. Hopkins has his eye for a professor of divinity. But Mr. Fitch tells me, Mr. Hopkins spake of Mr. West, of Stockbridge, as a great scholar, a great divine, and excellently qualified for such an office; but he supposed the corporation would not choose him. He also mentioned Mr. Hart, of Preston, as a great divine. I rather think he supposed Mr. West would be acceptable to the scholars. But when it is said, he would be willing to preach in college a year on trial, I should rather think he meant some one else besides Mr. West or Mr. Hart."

These remarks of Dr. Stiles suggest a few comments.

1. He manifests his usual fairness in confessing that the New School of divines were "VERY SOUND, AND CLEAR, AND FULL," on the "*good old doctrines of grace*." This is the testimony of one who had been intimate with the leader of that school. He was better acquainted with their principles than are the men who, in some parts of our country, accuse that same school of denying the "fundamental doctrines of the gospel."

2. He implies, what is well known from other sources, that the New Divinity men aimed to be more strict in Christian discipline than the Old. He evidently revered — how could he avoid doing so? — the religious spirit of Hopkins, who was, at that time, the accredited chief of the New Divinity men. All who *knew* Hopkins acknowledged his personal excellence.

3. The two Hopkinsian doctrines, that men have natural power to do whatever they are justly required to do, and that all moral

character consists in the free choices of men, are not considered by Dr. Stiles as worthy of mention, when compared with the other Hopkinsian principles, that the children of communicants only are to be baptized, and that a creature ought to sacrifice all his interests when the glory of the Creator demands the sacrifice. During the lifetime of Hopkins, he found some, but not many, unreasonable enough to gainsay those two axioms relating to man's power to do what is required of him, and to the active nature of all sin.

4. Dr. S. describes Hopkinsianism as unpopular, and therefore as fit to be condemned. Many Calvinists have done the same, and thus added force to the Arminian objection, that Calvinism is not attractive to the human heart, and is, therefore, false.

5. The fact that Hopkins did not interest the fifty or sixty families of his parish in the support of the gospel, is ascribed by Dr. Stiles to the New Divinity, as a main cause; and yet the seventy or eighty families of Dr. Stiles's parish did not even go so far as to ordain a minister, until ten years after he had left them. If, then, the low estate of the First Church was occasioned by the "strong meat" of Hopkinsianism, why was not the lower estate of the Second Church occasioned by the "sincere milk" of moderate Calvinism, which Dr. Stiles had imparted for the twenty previous years? The depressed condition of both the First and Second Church was owing less to either the New or Old Divinity, than to the revolutionary war.*

6. While Dr. Stiles refers to New Divinity as thinning the audience of Mr. Hopkins, he concedes, with his characteristic frankness, that other preachers of that same divinity collected "large congregations." It is notorious that they had some of the best congregations in New England. Does not this imply, that some other causes operated in keeping away the multitude from the choir-leader of the New Divinity.

7. Dr. Channing ascribes the unpopularity of Mr. Hopkins, as a preacher, to a *combination* of different causes. He says:

"My recollections of Dr. Hopkins go back to my earliest years, [i. e., a short time after Dr. Stiles penned the above record.] As the Second Congregational Church was closed in my childhood, in consequence of Dr. Stiles's removal to New Haven, my father was accustomed to attend on the ministry of Dr. Hopkins. Perhaps he was the first minister I heard, — but I heard him with no profit. His manner, which was singularly unattractive, could not win a child's attention; and the circumstances attending the service were repulsive. The church had been much injured by the British during the occupation of the town, and the congregation were too poor to repair it. It had a desolate look; and in winter the rattling of the windows made an impression which time has not worn out. It was literally as 'cold as a barn;' and some of the most painful sensations of my childhood were experienced in that comfortless building. As I grew up, I was accustomed to attend

* See Hon. William Ellery's Letter, in Dr. Holmes's Life of Stiles, pp. 223, 224. Hopkinsianism was repugnant, and so was moderate Calvinism, to many who had felt the influence of De Rochambeau and his army.

worship in our own church, where Dr. Patten was settled, so that for years I knew little of Dr. Hopkins. My first impressions were not very favorable. I think it probable, that his strong reprobation of the slave trade excited ill will in the place; and I can distinctly recollect, that the prevalence of terror in his preaching was a very common subject of remark, and gave rise to ludicrous stories among the boys."—"His [Dr. H.'s] preaching can only be understood by one who had heard him. His voice was most untunable. Some of the tones approached a cracked bell, more nearly than any thing to which I can compare it. He changed from a low to a high key, and the reverse, with no apparent reason. His manner was without animation. His matter, as far as I can trust my memory, was not made acceptable by any adaptation to the taste of the hearer. He had exercised the severer faculties of his mind too much to give a fair chance to the imagination. He had no relish for poetry, and spoke of himself as finding no attraction in Milton or Shakspeare. If his style was clear and strong, he owed these qualities to his habits of thought, and not to any study of the best writers. We cannot wonder, then, that he was a very uninteresting preacher. He sometimes ascribed the unfruitfulness of his ministry to other causes, and seemed to see in it a judgment on himself. But a minister who has not the gift to win attention, should see no mystery in his failing to do good. Dr. Hopkins was a student, not preacher. His mind was habitually employed in investigation, and he never studied the art of communication. With an unharmonious voice, with no graces of manner or style, and with a disposition to bring forward abstract and unpalatable notions, is it wonderful that he did so little in the pulpit?" *

8. The account which Mr. Hopkins himself gives of his ministerial discouragements is an affecting exhibition of his rare virtues. The idea seems never to have entered his mind, that by concealing the limited success of his pulpit, he might preclude some objections to his theology. With what an honest and humble spirit, does the divine of nearly fourscore years confess:

"My preaching has always appeared to me as poor, low, and miserable, compared with what it ought to be; and frequently a sense of my deficiencies in this has been very painful and discouraging; and I have felt often as if I must leave off, and never attempt any more; and commonly, if not always, a prospect of preaching, and when I have been entering upon it, has brought a peculiar burden on my mind. And many times, when I have been preaching, it has left a painful consciousness, that I have come unspeakably short of what ought to be. And I have never wondered that my preaching has been attended with so little apparent good effect, since it has been so deficient every way." †

How suddenly is a critic disarmed, when he reads the narrative which this aged and broken-hearted penitent gives of his qualifications for the pulpit!

"I have never," he says, "in the course of my life, since I first entertained a hope that I had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, given up my hope, and come to a settled conclusion that I had no grace; but my doubts have frequently rose very high. Many times my exercises have been such, as for a time to exclude all doubts. But I have been constantly conscious that I have always fallen unspeakably below what I ought to be, and what I

* Dr. Channing's Letter of February 14, 1840. Hopkins was an *old* man, as thus described.

† Sketches, p. 88.

hoped I should be. My strongest religious exercises and highest enjoyments have taken place in my retirement and secret devotions; and in my public performances, praying and preaching have generally been very low; which I have sometimes suspected was an argument that my religion is not genuine. I know it is an argument against me, that I am very sinfully defective in my social and public religion! I have been frequently carried out in secret in views of divine truth, and exercises, even to an ecstasy, while tears have flowed abundantly, with groanings and desires truly unutterable. My religious emotions and exercises of soul in the view of the truths respecting God and the Saviour, the way of salvation, my own evil character, &c., have been unspeakably more lively and strong, than any emotions and exercises I have ever experienced, respecting any worldly, temporal objects. I have loved retirement, and have never been comfortable when deprived of it; and have taken more pleasure *alone*, than in any company; and have often chosen to ride alone, when on a journey, rather than in the best company.* I have for a long course of years, even from my first entering on the work of the ministry, spent the last day of the week in retirement, and in fasting and prayer, unless interrupted by something extraordinary; and have found great advantage by it. This I have practised, not as a burden and task, but as a privilege. I have felt and known myself to be a low and shameful Christian, if I were one; and have generally reflected on myself, character, and conduct, as a Christian and minister of the gospel, with a *painful shame* and self-condemnation, of which none can have conception but those who have felt the same; knowing that in many things I offend, and in *every thing* have come unspeakably short of what I ought to do and be, considering my advantages, mercies, and obligations. My life and character, and all my exercises, are stained with such an awful degree of moral depravity and pollution, that I feel myself infinitely far from any righteousness or moral goodness that can recommend me to the favor of God; and if I am dealt with according to my moral character and desert, I must be cast off by God, and made miserable forever. I have no refuge but the righteousness, the infinite merit and worthiness of Christ. In *him* I hope; to him I come for pardon, justification, and redemption from all iniquity, while I am willing to be considered as infinitely unworthy, and ill-deserving, even the greatest sinner that is, or ever was on earth; and know that if I am saved, it will be wholly owing to mere, infinite, sovereign grace; to eternal, electing love; for which I cannot give or conceive any reason, but that which was given by the Son of God — 'Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.' I am truly ashamed of myself, that I have lived so long, and have made so little advances in mental [probably a misprint for 'moral and'] religious attainments; and am, at the same time, conscious that I see but very little of my shameful depravity which has actually taken place, and now exists, and as it is viewed by the omniscient Saviour; and, therefore, my confessions, shame and humiliation in his sight are inconsiderable and nothing, compared with my real shameful depravity and odiousness. And that petition well becomes me, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!'" †

* If Mr. Hopkins had learned to express in public the feelings which he poured out in private, he would have been one of the most eloquent of preachers. But he was often curbed and held down in presence of an auditory. He begins a letter on the first of January, 1771, in a style not very common for a New Year's Day: "I can in some measure sympathize with you in your dejecting sense of your own pollution, vileness, and guilt; though this brings a dreadful burden on me often, in which you cannot fully share. You can secrete yourself, and withdraw from society, when this view of yourself renders you unfit for company, and fills you with apprehensions that you shall do mischief to all you converse with. But I am *obliged* to lead in public worship, and engage in the most solemn and awful business of speaking in God's name, and dealing with immortals about their eternal concerns, whatever views I have of myself; however dejected in my own mind, and desirous to be hid in a corner, out of all danger of spreading mischief — out of the way, and even the thoughts of all."

† Sketches, pp. 85–88.

9. The success of Mr. Hopkins in the pulpit has been underrated both by himself and his opponents. Had he not been so much more celebrated in other spheres, he would have been called a useful preacher; not eminently so, not stirring or melting the sensibilities, but enlightening the intellect, probing the conscience, and thus purifying the heart. We know not how we can otherwise explain the eulogies of his friends, many of whom were noted for guarding and measuring their words. Making all needful deductions for the filial reverence with which Dr. Samuel Spring extolled the preaching of his instructor, we cannot account for his eulogistic language, unless we believe that Hopkins did some good to some men; and was fitted, although not to please the multitude, yet to edify mature Christians. "No minister, we think," says Dr. Samuel Spring, "was ever more justly esteemed and admired. For, though he was destitute of natural eloquence, such was the choice of his subjects, the interesting and properly arranged thoughts which constituted his sermons and prayers, that but few preachers commanded more attention, and were favored with more solemn and devout assemblies. To administer conviction and instruction, edification and consolation, according to the respective conditions of his hearers, was the design and tendency of his preaching. Good people rejoiced, and wicked people trembled, at seeing him enter the desk. For he believed, and made them believe also, that his ministration would prove the savor of life to some, and the savor of death to others. How solemn the thought! How solemn and interesting the connection between minister and people! But this the Doctor felt, and this he was qualified to make others feel. Hence the devout and awful solemnity which attended his public performances. He preached Christ, and not himself; he concealed himself, and displayed the truth." *

Sect. XXXII. HOPKINS AS A REFORMER.

"He had many qualities," says Dr. Channing, "fitting him for a reformer — great singleness of purpose, invincible patience of research, sagacity to detect and courage to oppose errors, a thirst for consistency of views, and resolution to carry out his principles to their legitimate consequences." † He received the recompense of reformers — much obloquy while he was living; but many presages of a posthumous fame. In reading his letters and Journal, we are surprised at the extent to which he anticipated some of our modern reforms.

He inculcated, at a very early day, the duty of entire abstinence

* See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine for February, 1804, p. 363.
† Letter of February 14, 1840.

from intoxicating liquids as a beverage.* He showed the power of conscience and will over the sensibilities, in his sudden abandonment of tobacco. The particulars of this change in his habit, are thus detailed by Dr. Patten:

"Among the customs of the day, that of smoking had become general, especially by ministers of the gospel. Mr. Hopkins had followed the custom. At a meeting of ministers, as they were indulging in the practice, and had filled the room with smoke, the wife of the minister at whose house they met, found it necessary to take something from a cupboard at the farther corner of the room. As she opened the door, a cloud of smoke came on her, and produced a partial suffocation. She put her apron to her face, and hastened across the room, and then returned and shut the door. Mr. Hopkins received the impression that it was not becoming, but disgraceful, for Christians, but especially ministers, to adopt a practice which was disgusting, and would exclude females of delicacy from their society and conversation. He said nothing, but took his pipe and laid it on the shelf over the fireplace, secretly resolving that he would not take it down again unless he should feel it to be necessary. Yet the impression so far continued, that he never had the least inclination to resume the practice. A singular example of the power of reason and principle over sense and habit — a habit which is one of the most powerful that can be contracted. After this success, he made it an object to speak to his clerical brethren and others against the use of tobacco, as unnecessary and injurious; and so extensively did he prevail, that it became almost a mark that one believed with him in doctrine, that he made no use of tobacco." †

Mr. Hopkins was an early opponent of Free-masonry.‡ "I heartily wish that Dagon sunk, as a millstone in the sea, never to rise again. But there is a *Washington* in the way, and many others." So he wrote at the age of seventy-seven, and in his eighty-first year he says: "The Free-masons are building a famous lodge here. The frame is now raising, a few rods from my house, in plain sight of my study window. The din of axes, hammers, and the voices of men, assaults me while I am writing this. It will cost some thousands of dollars, but they have money in plenty for the promotion of such business. It is to contain a spacious hall for dancing. Thus the devil's interest and kingdom seems to go on and prosper; but in reality it is all *for Christ*, and designed to promote his interest and kingdom."

Non omnia possumus omnes. There was one popular evil, the nature of which Hopkins does not seem, at least before his sixty-fifth year, to have detected. The Newport Mercury of December 18, 1784, appropriates an entire page to a list of the prizes drawn in the *first* class of the First Congregational Church Lottery, in Newport. There were thirty-six hundred tickets in the lottery; one

* See also his opposition to the sale of ardent spirit, as intimated on pp. 33–35.

† Reminiscences, pp. 37, 38.

‡ This opposition of Mr. Hopkins to the Masonic order evinces his impartiality; for some of his best friends belonged to that order, and are spoken of as having been buried with Masonic and military honors.

ticket drew three hundred dollars, two tickets drew fifty dollars each, five drew twenty each, and thirty drew ten each. The Mercury of February 19, 1785, devotes a column to "a list of the fortunate numbers in the *second* class of the First Congregational Church Lottery in Newport." This church was Mr. Hopkins's. Other churches, however, were in the same condemnation. The Mercury of May 23, 1785, gives a schedule of the *first* class of the Second Congregational Church Lottery; and September 17, 1785, it describes the drawing of the *second* class of the lottery for the same church, then recently Dr. Stiles's. The Mercury of April 28, 1795, publishes the prizes in the "Little Compton United Congregational Society Lottery." The most reputable ministers of New England then favored the lottery system. Dr. Hart, Dr. Benedict, and other clergymen, drew prizes in both the lotteries of Mr. Hopkins's church; and "honest Mr. Gillet" drew six hundred dollars, the highest prize of the second class. — But why not conceal these facts? First, concealment is not honest. Secondly, concealment is not wise. It is useful to know the imperfections of the best men. Thirdly, concealment does not accord with the inspired example. David and Peter are described in the Bible as they really lived. Fourthly, concealment is not possible. If the friends of a man do not tell the truth about him, his enemies will. Fifthly, concealment is not necessary. The failure of Hopkins to see the evil of the lottery system, was shared by many of the best men in his own day, and only proves him to have been human.

There is also another evil, of which our reformer seems to have been regardless, until the year 1770. He seems to have agreed with President Edwards, as long as the President lived, with regard to slavery. In the inventory of Edwards's estate, after his death, there was mentioned, among his "quick stock," one negro boy, Titus, valued at a hundred dollars. So, during a part of Hopkins's residence at Great Barrington, he owned a slave. This is asserted in part on the authority of Drs. Patten, Channing, Tenney, Mr. Ferguson, and in part on the ground of common fame. An ordinary observer, in the last century, would not have suspected, that Samuel Hopkins would become the hero of a novel. The Christian World, however, of October 14, 21, and 28, 1843, devotes four or five columns to a tale extracted from the Albany Weekly Patriot, with regard to the sale of Hopkins's slave, the mental depression of the good man in consequence of his bargain, and the subsequent history of the negro who was sold. The scene of the narrative is laid at Newport. The more common, as well as the more correct opinion, however, has been, that the slave was sold before Dr. Hopkins visited Newport, and that the remembrance of his own traffic in human flesh stimulated him to oppose the same evil in other men.

Sect. XXXIII. PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO THE SLAVE TRADE AND TO SLAVERY.

The amiable Buckminster wrote a Review of West's Sketches of Hopkins's Life, for the Monthly Anthology. He introduced his Review with the following words: "Nothing but the celebrity of Dr. Hopkins's name would have induced us to give that attention to these memoirs, which is commonly expected of reviewers; for we imagine they will be very interesting only to those who have adopted his system of theology, or who are inclined to lay equal stress with him on the variety and frequency of what are called religious experiences."* Now, it is very true, that Hopkins took hold of theology with a strong hand; but he was not a man of one idea. Politicians, as well as sentimentalists, have an interest in him; as will be seen in the record of his anti-slavery projects.

Rhode Island has been justly famed for its love of freedom. The Commissioners of Providence Plantations and Warwick passed an act against the purchase of negroes, as early as May 18, 1652. In 1675–6, the Legislature prohibited the reducing of Indians to bondage; and in 1715, the *importation* of Indian slaves. But notwithstanding her early zeal in behalf of liberty, Rhode Island became, at length, deeply involved in the slave system. Many of her families gained their wealth from it, many more were dependent upon it for their maintenance. And of all her towns which were engaged in the negro traffic, Newport was the chief. It was, indeed, "the great slave market of New England!"† It is said, that Hopkins often looked upon the cargoes of Africans who were landed at the wharves near his meeting-house and parsonage. His church members, his best friends, his nearest neighbors, nearly all the respectable families of the town, were owners, and many of the most accomplished merchants on the island were importers of slaves. They imported not for New England alone, but for the South. Even as recently as 1804–8, Rhode Island owned fifty-nine of the two hundred and two slavers carrying negroes into the single port of Charleston, South Carolina; and of the seventeen thousand and forty-eight Africans, taken into that port during those four years by American vessels, the Rhode Island slavers took six thousand two hundred and thirty-eight; and of these, the Newport slavers, diminished in number as they had been, took three thousand four hundred and eighty-eight.‡

Amid such a community, then, to attack the system of African bondage was to rise up against principalities and powers; against friends, and even the church. It would have been very easy for

* See Anthology, vol. iii. p. 152, seq.

† Updike's History of the Narraganset Church, pp. 170–174.

‡ Speech of Judge Smith, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, December 8, 1820. See Updike's History of the Narraganset Church, p. 168.

Hopkins to discharge volleys against this evil from behind Monument Mountain, in Great Barrington; but now he has removed from that snug retreat into the very centre of the slave interest, his personal quiet and reputation are hazarded by a single whisper with regard to it; — and what shall he do? He is poor, and at this time [about 1770] he has, what he never had before, a comfortable salary; — shall he forfeit his support? He is the reputed leader of a new school of divines; — and shall he expose that school to obloquy, by identifying it with an unpopular assault upon an established institution? He is a preacher of the gospel; — and shall he divert the attention of his hearers from spiritual truth to a political scheme? These were grave questions which he gravely canvassed. At first he doubted. He was a prudent man. But his Hopkinsian divinity was characterized by the principle, that one must sacrifice all his interests, in this and the other world, if one can thereby promote the welfare of "being in general." He believed that if he lifted his voice in behalf of the bondmen, he should advance the interests of his race and the honor of his Maker. He offered himself as a sacrifice. He did it deliberately, solemnly. Anticipating the indignation of his people and the anger of the community, he preached a sermon against the kidnapping, and purchasing, and retaining of slaves. A New England poet* has said: "It well may be doubted, whether, on that Sabbath day, the angels of God, in their wide survey of his universe, looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport, rising up before his slaveholding congregation, and demanding, in the name of the Highest, the 'deliverance of the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that were bound!'" The citizens of Newport were startled by this novel discourse. No minister in the land had preached on slavery in so bold a manner.† The benevolent Quakers of Rhode Island had long been willing to pursue, but were not now pursuing, a course of public action against the evil. Hopkins stood up alone, not indeed without any in the State who would give him their sympathies, but without any who would rise in bold resistance to the dominant powers. He anticipated the worst, and showed the spirit of a martyr. In his modesty, he underrated the strength of attachment felt for him by his people. His sermons offended a few, and made them permanently his enemies. One wealthy family left his congregation in disgust; but the majority of his hearers were astonished that they, of themselves, had not long before seen and felt the truths which he disclosed to them.

He was encouraged, and went again to the work. In 1776, he

* John G. Whittier, in the National Era, July 12, 1847.

† There is no doubt that many clergymen in the land were inwardly hostile to the slave system, and were happy to see it so vigorously opposed. But Hopkins had not been apprised of their feelings. — He preached several times on the subject between 1770 and 1776.

published his celebrated Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, together with his Address to Slaveholders. This is a remarkable document. It opposes both the purchasing and the owning of slaves. Some parts of it are written in a style of live-oak. They are good specimens of the condensed vigor which he could, at times, throw into his composition. Very few reasons and motives have since been adduced for manumission, which are not found in this pamphlet. It was for a long time a *thesaurus* for less original writers on the subject. It is noteworthy, that he penned this Dialogue during the alarms which his people were suffering, in the two years preceding their dispersion by the British. He published it in the midst of the revolutionary war! He printed it at Norwich; probably because the Newport press could not safely engage in so offensive an enterprise. What hope had he, that amid the distracting influences of the struggle for independence, his countrymen would listen to an appeal for the slave? He deemed it the fitting time for such an appeal; because, while men were expending their treasures for their own freedom, they would feel the consistency of giving freedom to their own bondmen. Hopkins meant to sound a trumpet which would be heard throughout the land. He aimed high. He dedicated his pamphlet to the "Honorable Continental Congress." Copies of it were sent to the members of that body, and to the prominent citizens in all the colonies. As it was, in some respects, perhaps the ablest document which had, at that time and on that theme, appeared in the English language, and as it was not known to have come from an humble parson, (for its author did not publish his name at first,) it had a wide circulation among statesmen. It was reprinted, in an edition of two thousand copies, by the New York Manumission Society, conformably to a vote passed December 11, 1785, less than a year after the formation of the society. A copy of it was sent, in accordance with another vote of the same association, to every member of Congress, and of the New York Legislature. John Jay was at that time the President of the society, and Alexander Hamilton the Secretary. Among its most active members were James Duane, Mayor of New York City, and Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York State. The society, in about five months after it had published this Dialogue, addressed a petition to the Legislature, in favor of a law prohibiting the exportation of slaves for a foreign market. It is said that the Dialogue did much to prepare the minds of the society for this aggressive movement.

At a subsequent date, the society directed the following letter to Mr. Hopkins. It is worthy of remark, that about three months before this honor was conferred on him, the same honor was conferred, by the same association, upon Granville Sharp, of England.*

* See the letter of Judge Jay, and Mr. Sharp's acknowledgment of the same, in Prince Hoare's Life of Sharp, pp. 252, 334, quarto edition.

"New York, December 10, 1788. Reverend Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, wishing to show their respect to gentlemen who are eminent for their attachment to the rights of men in general, and particularly to those who espouse the cause of the enslaved Africans, have lately added to their rules one for the admission of honorary members; and at their last meeting took the liberty of enrolling your name among them; of which they directed notice to be given by their Committee of Correspondence, in whose behalf I now write. It is with peculiar pleasure I communicate the information, and have the honor to be, Reverend Sir, your very humble servant, EBEN HAZARD."

About the same time, Mr. Hopkins was elected an honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Manumission of Slaves; of which society Benjamin Franklin was President, and Dr. Benjamin Rush was Secretary.

It must not be supposed that Hopkins confined his efforts to the pulpit and the press. "In one instance," says Mr. John G. Whittier,* "he borrowed, on his own responsibility, the sum requisite to secure the freedom of a slave in whom he became interested." He was a kind of anti-slavery apostle, visiting from house to house, and urging masters to free their bondmen. He persuaded several of his neighbors to perform this duty, and his conversation with many clergymen awakened their minds to exertion in this branch of benevolence. We cannot estimate the amount of good which he accomplished in the following interview with Dr. Bellamy, whose example was a law to multitudes. Mr. Ferguson says,† that while Hopkins was once on a visit at the house of Bellamy, who then owned a slave, he pressed upon his friend the objections against slavery. Bellamy defended the system with the usual arguments, and Hopkins refuted them, and then called on his friend to free his slave at once; Bellamy replied, that "the slave was a most faithful and judicious servant; that in his management of the farm, he could be trusted with every thing; and that he was so happy in his servitude, that he would, in the opinion of his master, refuse his freedom, were it offered to him. 'Will you consent to his liberation,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'if he really desires it?' 'Yes,' replied Dr. Bellamy, 'I will.' The slave was then at work in the field. 'Call him,' said Dr. H., and let us try.' The slave came to receive, as he he supposed, the commands of his master.—'Have you a good master?' said Dr. Hopkins, addressing the slave. What could the slave answer but, 'Yes'?—'Are you happy in your present condition?'—How could the slave deny that he was?—'Would you be *more* happy if you were free?' 'O, yes, massa,—me would be much more happy.' 'You have your desire,' exclaimed Dr. Bellamy: 'from this moment you are free.'"‡

* See National Era, July 12, 1847. See also Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 82, 83.

† Life of Hopkins, pp. 85, 86.

‡ Substantially the same narrative has been given by several writers beside Mr. Ferguson.

Sect. XXXIV. INTEREST IN ABOLITION SOCIETIES, AND IN POLITICAL ACTION AGAINST SLAVERY.

When Mr. Hopkins first preached against the slave system, there was not — so far as we are apprised — an association formed in the world for abolishing that system. Multitudes were in favor of the abolition, but they had no concerted plan for effecting their purpose. Although the forecasting mind of the Newport pastor was not the first to devise the scheme of Abolition Societies, yet he was quick to see their worth, and his efforts were among the foremost means of augmenting their number. Not only by his Sermons and Dialogue, but by his numerous letters to public men, and by his newspaper essays, he stirred up ministers and laymen to an organized and political action against slavery. He found powerful coadjutors among the Society of Friends. He found, also, an innate love of freedom among the yeomen of Rhode Island. With all his martyr-spirit, he doubtless foresaw that the mass of the people would come right; for, although he was not familiar with the etiquette of society, he had a profound knowledge of human nature,* and a faith that God will lead his servants through much tribulation into ultimate success. It was cheering to him, that some time after he had broken the silence of the pulpit, the friends of freedom, in June, 1774, pressed a law — somewhat inoperative, indeed — through the Legislature of Rhode Island, prohibiting the importation of negroes into the colony. Still more cheering was the legislative vote of February, 1784,† declaring that all children of slaves, born after the first of the next March, should be free. He found hosts of enemies, however, and the following correspondence exhibits his activity in counteracting their schemes, and in waking up the energies of good men. It discloses, also, the hardships to which the early advocates of freedom were exposed, and our obligations to them for enduring this "hardness as good soldiers."

To Moses Brown, of Providence, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends. — "Newport, April 29, 1784. Much esteemed Friend: I am much pleased with your zeal, and persevering, assiduous attempts to discourage and abolish the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans among us. Though I have a degree of the same zeal, yet I am apt to sink under discouragements which you seem easily to surmount. I have dared publicly to declare that this town is the most guilty, respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible

* When Dr. C. J. Tenney was a young man, on his way to Newport, Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, said to him, "In fifteen minutes, Dr. Hopkins will sound you through and through."

† In this year, however, a motion to prohibit the slave trade was negatived by a considerable majority of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. Still, the Rhode Island Assembly was only four years later than the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in securing the freedom of the slaves to be born within the State.

of the sin, repent, and reform. This has greatly displeased a number, and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt. This town, I greatly fear, will be the last in the State to do what they ought to do, and be foremost in it, respecting that most abominable traffic, and the consequent slavery that is among us. This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances. The freemen have chosen a new set of representatives, except one. Though some of them are, in many respects, worthy men, I believe not one of them will vote for any law to discourage the slave trade, or the slavery of the Africans. And I suspect that they who planned this choice had a particular view to this. As there are objections against the law freeing those blacks which shall be born in future, especially against the towns where they are born being obliged to maintain them, &c., I expect there will be a strong motion to have it altered or repealed at the next General Assembly; and I fear that, by the cunning and influence of a number, the latter will be effected. But God sitteth in the heavens.

"The Friends have set a laudable example in bearing testimony against the slave trade, and exerting themselves to suppress the slavery of the Africans; and, I must say, have acted more like Christians, in this important article, than any other denomination of Christians among us. To our *shame* be it spoken! The church in which I preside have agreed to declare, that the slave trade and the slavery of the blacks, as it has been practised among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and, therefore, we will not tolerate it in this church. But it is thought that present circumstances will not admit of our addressing the General Assembly on that head, so as to answer any good purpose. What I published formerly, in the weekly paper here, consisted chiefly in extracts from other authors,* all which you have doubtless seen, and most of them have since been printed in Providence papers. Our printer gave such offence to a number, by publishing those extracts, and was so threatened, if he continued to insert such things in his paper, that he has been backward to do any thing of this kind since. He has, however, consented to print some observations on that head, which I thought proper at this time, next Saturday; a copy of which I shall send to you when I have opportunity."†

To Moses Brown. — "Nov. 17, 1784. My worthy Friend: I enclose to you something relating to the slave trade, that you may get it inserted in the Providence papers, if you think it will answer any valuable end. I have not offered it to the printer here, because I thought if it *first* appeared in our paper, the author would be more likely to be suspected, which would answer no good end, but the contrary.‡ I am glad to see the address of the Friends to the British Legislature,§ inserted in Mr. Wheeler's paper. I hope it will have influence. At least, they have delivered themselves from the guilt of that horrible trade."

* He published, at this period, various extracts from the writings of the Bishop of Gloucester; and several years afterward, extracts from the works of Clarkson and Paley, on the slave system. He also published, if we may judge from the style of the anonymous essays, more of *original* matter than came from the pen of any other Rhode Islander, on this topic.

† This article was printed in the Newport Mercury of May 1, 1784; and as a specimen of his mildest style on the subject of slavery, is now republished in the Doctrinal Tract Society's edition of Hopkins's Works.

‡ This is a very spirited article. It first appeared in the United States Chronicle, Political, Commercial, and Historical, printed by Bennet Wheeler, Providence; and at the close is the following notice: "All the printers of newspapers in the United States, who are friends to liberty, their country, and mankind, are desired to insert the above in their several papers." Great efforts were made by Mr. Brown to circulate all of Mr. Hopkins's newspaper essays. Many of them were struck off in a separate form, and distributed as circulars over the country.

§ In E. Copley's History of Slavery, it is said that the first petition to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was presented in 1785, by citizens of Bridgewater.

*To Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut.** — "February 10, 1786. Reverend and Dear Sir: I send you three pamphlets, put into my hands to promote a conviction of the evil of the slave trade and of slavery. You will use them to that end, in the way you think best. They are printed by the Quakers in England. Mr. Brown, of Providence, who sent them to me, writes that the dissenting clergy are joining to promote the utter abolition of slavery in the British dominions, and of the slave trade. He wishes to have a prize† set up in some of our colleges, to be given for the best piece against the slave trade, and says he will give twenty dollars toward such a design. He wishes the clergy in America were more engaged to use their influence against the slave trade. Query: Would it not be worth while to attempt to get the Convention of clergy in Boston, the General Association in Connecticut, and the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, to remonstrate against it to Congress, or [in] some other way to bear their testimony against it?"

To Moses Brown. — "March 9, 1787. My Friend: I wrote you two days ago, but having since received a letter from Mr. Law, dated Charleston, February 16, I write again to send you the following abstract from it: 'A Captain Moses S., of Providence, shipped two free negroes as seamen on board his vessel; and when he arrived at this place, he, instead of paying them their wages, according to agreement, sold them for slaves. A gentleman, whom I desired to inquire into the matter, informed me yesterday that they were redeemed and set at liberty. But I think such iniquity ought not to go unpunished, if any law will take hold of it; and I wish you to write to Mr. Moses Brown. If nothing more, it may be a means of their preventing others doing in like manner.' You will please to make what use of this you think best. He informs me that the Legislature in North Carolina had made a law prohibiting the importing slaves into that State; and that a senator, member of the Legislature of South Carolina, then sitting at Charleston, had told him that he did not doubt but a law of the same tenor would be enacted at that session."

To Moses Brown. — "August 13, 1787. My Kind Friend: Yours of July 17 came to hand about the beginning of this month. I thank you for the intelligence you have taken pains to communicate to me. I have the same opinion of Dr. Thornton‡ that you have entertained of him. I have seen the memorial that you, with your friends, presented to the General Assembly of this State, and highly approve of it. I have made a motion to most of the ministers in this town to join with all the ministers in this State, in presenting a memorial to the Assembly, of the same tenor with yours. Several of them approve, and say they will sign such a memorial, if I will draw one. But my situation and business will not admit of my applying to all the ministers in the State, before the Assembly is to sit. I hope to present the matter as soon as possi-

But Clarkson, in his History, p. 94, mentions the petition of the Quakers for the same object, in 1783; to which petition Mr. Hopkins here alludes. The House of Burgesses, in Virginia, petitioned the *King*, on the first of April, 1772, for the abolition of the slave trade in their colony.

* Rev. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut, was an intimate friend of Hopkins, from 1760 to 1903. He was a theological student of Bellamy, and married Rebecca, Bellamy's eldest daughter. He was among the original founders of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, and was active in forming the connection between the churches of Connecticut and the Presbyterian General Assembly. He was a trustee of Dartmouth, and also of Yale College. He was a man of influence. At his funeral, Dr. Joel Benedict preached a sermon; and on the following Sabbath Dr. Nathan Strong preached another sermon, in memory of his virtues. Both of these discourses were published.

† The idea of this seems to have been suggested by the prize essay proposed in the year preceding, by Dr. Peckard, of Cambridge, England. Thomas Clarkson was the successful competitor for the premium, and derived from it his first interest in the cause of the slave.

‡ One of the earliest friends of the colonization scheme.

ble. I do not think it likely that the Assembly will take the matter up, so as to do any thing against the slave trade, at the next session. If they do not wholly dismiss the petition, I shall be glad. I have pretty good evidence that some of them speak fair words to you and your friends, who yet are determined against doing any thing against the slave trade. I enclose to you an essay which I have attempted to get published in the Newport Herald. And the printer promised me that he would insert the whole of it at the head of his paper, this week, so that it should be out before the sitting of the Assembly. But he has since told me that he cannot print it, and has returned it. He says he has consulted his friends, and they tell him that it will greatly hurt his interest to do it; that there is so large a number of his customers either in the slave trade, or in such connection with [it], or so disposed with respect to it, to whom it will give the greatest offence, that it is not prudent for him to do it. He therefore wholly refuses to do it. Thus that wicked set of men in this town have got the printer in their hands, and have silenced the press, as other tyrants have done before them. In vain do I tell him, that he has fallen from his profession and promise when he first came here, and that his press is no more open and free. If, when you have read it, you shall think best to have it published, and Mr. Wheeler or Mr. Carter will do it, you have my free consent. I have erased Mr. E.'s name. *His* name who shall print it, if it be printed, must be inserted in the room of that. The length, perhaps, may be an objection, though Mr. E. did not object to that. If it cannot be all inserted in one paper, it may be divided and continued to the next. — I shall very thankfully accept of your kind offer of the loan of Ramsay's Treatise. I have desired to read it ever since I saw the account of it in Clarkson's Essay. You will please to send it by some safe conveyance, or commit it to the care of Bristol Yamma, a free negro, in Providence, whom I suppose you know. He will faithfully transmit it to me. This is to go through his hands. I send you one of the second edition of the Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, to which a short Appendix is added."

In a letter of October 22, 1787, Mr. Hopkins remarks to Mr. Brown:

"It has been objected by some of the ministers, against preferring a memorial to the General Assembly, respecting the slave trade, that the present ruling part in the Assembly have appeared to be so destitute of all principles of justice, or [of] regard to it, and have acted such an iniquitous part, that there is an impropriety in applying to them for justice; especially for the ministers of the gospel to do it, whom they hold in the highest contempt, and would embrace any opportunity to pour contempt upon them; which we should give them by laying such a petition before them. This prevents any thing of that kind being done at present."

In the same letter, Mr. Hopkins alludes to a lengthened Essay, signed *Crito*, which he had written for the Providence Gazette and Country Journal. It was inserted in two successive numbers of that paper, October 6 and 13, 1787. Mr. Brown circulated copies of these papers among the most influential statesmen of the land. The letters which follow disclose the celebrity which this Essay attained, and the importance attached to it. It is written in a more pungent and racy style than is generally ascribed to the Newport metaphysician. It is now republished in the Tract Society's edition of Hopkins's Works.

To Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut. — "November 27, 1787. Reverend and Dear Sir: I write this to go by Plainfield, by General Douglass. By him I send to Mr. Steward several newspapers containing pieces respect-

ing the slave trade, and have desired him to transmit them to you. Perhaps, if you should think it worth while, you might get them reprinted in some Connecticut newspaper; particularly the law made in this State against the slave trade. Rhode Island is in such low credit, or, rather, so infamous, that I fear their example will not have much influence, even when they do that which is worthy of imitation. Is it not extraordinary, that this State, which has exceeded the rest of the States in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade? Let them have the praise of this; especially as the Assembly were so nearly unanimous, there being but *four* dissenting voices. If Boston and Connecticut should not join us in this, I fear this law will soon be like some other *Rhode Island laws*." *

To Dr. Levi Hart. — "November 27, at evening, 1787. Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Mr. Moses Brown, of Providence, which I conclude to enclose to you, with twelve pages which contain *Crito*, which he mentions, and which I mentioned in my letter of to-day, as conveyed to Mr. Steward, desiring him to put it into your hands. Moses Brown is a man of a respectable character, as an honest, sensible man. He is a man of interest. He was not educated a Quaker, but joined that sect some years ago. He is brother to the famous John Brown, the rich merchant in Providence.† This Moses was once concerned in the slave trade; but for many years has been convinced of the iniquity of it, and his sin in practising it has lain heavy on his conscience. He thinks it his duty to do all in his power to put a stop to this traffic, and an end to the slavery of Africans, and to assist them to obtain their freedom, in all the ways he can. And he is active and unwearied in his endeavors to promote these ends. And I must say, that he and a number of his brethren, who join him in this matter, have acted a judicious, faithful, and honorable part. We have no men of any other denomination in these States, who appear so conscientious, discerning, faithful, and zealous, in this matter, as these Quakers do; or who, in this respect, show so much of a Christian spirit. If we had a number of men of influence of this stamp in every State, the slave trade and slavery would be soon abolished. You will see by his letter what he desires of me. You are the only man I can apply to in Connecticut, with a view of answering any end respecting this matter. You have access to some gentlemen of influence. The Governor lives near you, and [you] can communicate any thing you please on this subject to him. Esquire Sherman is an honest man, and his influence is great; and there are, doubtless, others whom you know. There are, doubtless, clergymen, with whom you have such connection that you may excite them to use their influence in opposition to the slave trade, if it be true that they are now carrying it on in Connecticut. You will do what you think prudence and duty; and this is all that I can expect or desire. I have been truly ashamed, that the clergy in these States, and in New England in particular, have not, unitedly and publicly, borne testimony against this trade and the slavery of Africans. If the ministers of the gospel would now join in general, or by particular associations, to petition the General Assembly to suppress this trade, in imitation of the Quakers in this State, I think they would act a part which is very becoming to them, — yea, their incumbent duty, and honorable to their character. As to publishing the *Crito*, &c., which I have mentioned in my letter of this day,

* The preceding section, and also the present, develop some inconsistency in the legislation of Rhode Island, with regard to the slave system. This vacillating policy annoyed the good divine.

† John Brown laid the corner stone of the first building erected in Providence for Rhode Island College. The second building erected for the college was named in honor of a niece of Moses Brown; and the college itself bears its present appellation in memory of his nephew, Nicholas. There were four brothers, all eminent men, of whom Moses was the youngest. He was an honor to human nature, and it is pleasant to reflect, that amid the deep poverty of Hopkins, he was so intimate with a Quaker of such princely fortune and more than princely virtue. See Genealogy of a Portion of the Brown Family, pp. 6, 7. Providence, 1851.

and which Mr. Brown mentions to me, you will judge what can be done and what is best. He, you will see, offers to be at the expense which shall be necessary, if any; and I am not afraid to be his bondsman. He had fifty of each of the papers on which the *Crito* is printed struck off for him, and took pains to send them to most of the representatives and [members] of the Upper House, before the meeting of the Assembly; and it is thought this had considerable influence in producing the law."

To Moses Brown.—"January 5, 1788. Dear Sir: Ramsay's Essay came safe to me, which I return with thanks. I also thank you for two dozen of the Providence Gazette, and for your letter containing many particulars of which I was glad to be informed. I, without delay, wrote particularly to Mr. Hart, in Preston, in Connecticut, and enclosed your letter to him. He is an honest, sensible, active man, and has a particular acquaintance with the Governor of that State, and with others in public stations. He is ready to do all in his power to put a stop to the slave trade. I hope he will be able to do something which shall effect the suppression of it in that State. I have also sent *Crito's* Essay to Dr. Cogswell, in New York, who is a member of the African Society, and not one of the least active. I proposed to him to get *Crito* reprinted in some of their public prints; and that the society would enlarge their plan, and take into it *endeavors to abolish the slave trade.*

"Several days ago, one of your committee, Mr. Wilkinson, called upon me, and informed me that there was a proposal to get *Crito* reprinted in several newspapers in Boston State, unless something which might more particularly be adapted to that State might be published. I told him I had not thought of any thing that would, in my view, be worth saying, which was not contained in that Essay; but I would think of the matter, and if any thing should occur to my mind on that head, I would inform you, as I should write to you the first opportunity. In this view, I have attended to it; and have added two marginal notes, which I send to you with the papers containing the Essay. I am far from being confident that it is best, or worth while, to insert them, especially the first, but leave it with you and your friends to determine as you think best. One objection against inserting them is, that it will lengthen the Essay, which is now almost too long to be inserted in a newspaper. But I do not find myself able to abridge it. If you should get the Essay reprinted, as proposed, and think of inserting those marginal notes, I give you full liberty to make any alteration in them, by adding or subtracting, as you shall think best."

To Moses Brown.—"February 25, 1788. My Kind Friend: When I wrote you [my] last [letter], which went with Ramsay's Essay, I informed you that I had forwarded your letter to me, with *Crito* on Slave Trade, to Mr. Hart, in Connecticut. I have since had a letter from him, informing that the printers of newspapers in Norwich and Hartford have engaged to print it in their respective papers, without cost. And that he shall exert himself to the utmost, and use all the influence he has, against the slave trade. And he adds the following: 'I hope the efforts of the honest and respectable society of *Friends*, in the cause of humanity, may be successful, to the extirpation of the slave trade from these States.' I have lately received a letter from Dr. Cogswell, of New York, a member of the African Society there, to whom I sent a copy of *Crito*, &c. I will transcribe a paragraph or two from him: 'I thank you for the newspapers containing *Crito's* Essay. The African Society here have agreed to petition the Legislature of this State for a law to prevent the exportation and importation of negroes. *Crito* will be published about the time the petition is presented. The society here are using every measure that prudence dictates to put a stop to the slave trade. Their exertions have already been attended with very considerable effects. The minds of people are more awakened, and they think more liberally on the subject.' I am sorry it is not in my power to send you copies of several letters our society have received from the African Society in London. But this must be omitted

till another opportunity. These would give you the information you wish respecting the proposed settlement on the coast of Africa. I can only inform you *now*, that five ships have actually sailed for the purpose of making a settlement there, and that the society in London seem much engaged to put a final period to this iniquitous traffic. For this purpose, they have sent Mr. Clarkson (author of Essay, &c.) into various parts of the kingdom of Great Britain, to collect materials to lay before the public, that the evil may be exposed as fully as possible. 'They desire us to present them with all the information we *can* on the subject; and likewise to inform them how those negroes behave that have been liberated. I wish you, sir, to give me all the intelligence you can, on these points, from your State and from Massachusetts.' I transcribe the last clause to open the way to desire you to give me what information you can, respecting 'these points,' from Providence or any other parts. And if you should go to Boston soon, or have opportunity to send by any of your friends, I wish you to take measures to get information from thence. Mr. Eckley is most acquainted with the blacks there of any man I know, and is most likely to give the desired information respecting the freed blacks."

To Moses Brown.—"September 21, 1788. My much respected Friend: I received your late letter, and thank you for the intelligence contained in it, and the enclosed paper and pamphlets. I enclosed your letter, with the petition of the clergy, &c., in Boston, to the General Court, and the Providence paper which contains the law lately made in Pennsylvania, to Mr. Hart, of Preston, desiring him to forward them to Dr. Edwards, of New Haven; which he writes me he shall do by the first opportunity. I have lately had authentic information, that the General Association, which is composed of members delegated from each particular Association of clergy in the State of Connecticut, and which was convened last June, unanimously agreed to present a memorial and petition, in the name of all the clergy in that State, to the next General Assembly, which will sit next month, in New Haven, praying that a law may be made, to prohibit the slave trade in that State; and that they appointed a committee, of whom Dr. Edwards was one, to draw up said petition, and they adjourned to New Haven, to meet there this month to sign it. I am glad to hear that you, with a number of your friends, have proposed to apply to that Assembly on the same subject. I have no doubt of your succeeding."

The first society in the world, for the abolition of slavery, seems to have been formed in Philadelphia.* A few Quakers of that city met often, in 1774, for the purpose of devising a scheme for the relief of the negroes. They formed a society, April 14, 1775. This society was resuscitated in April, 1784, and still a new impulse was given to it in 1787, when Benjamin Franklin was chosen its President. The second society was formed in New York, January 25, 1785. The third was formed in Rhode Island, and of course engaged the interest of Mr. Hopkins more than the other two. The Maryland Abolition Society, likewise, was instituted in 1789. The Connecticut Society was instituted September 9, 1790; of which Dr. Stiles was President, and Judge Baldwin was Secretary. In the

* A society was formed in England by Wilberforce, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others, May 22, 1787, for the abolition of the slave trade; but it refused to comply with the solicitation of Granville Sharp, and to include in its objects the entire abolition of slavery. See Prince Hoare's Life of Sharp, part iv. ch. ii. Six of the English Friends had united in a kind of informal society for "the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave trade on the coast of Africa," as early as July 7, 1783. See Clarkson's History, p. 95.

formation of this society, Dr. Hart was very active, and was appointed to preach the annual sermon before it in 1792. Virginia and New Jersey formed Abolition Societies in or about 1791.

It is said by one who resided at the time in Mr. Hopkins's family, that the first meeting for consultation, with regard to an Abolition Society in New England, was held in the large front parlor of his house. Several gentlemen from Providence were present. The Society, however, was not formally organized there. The reason may have been, that it would have met a more violent opposition in Newport than in Providence. It was regularly formed at Providence, February 20, 1789. A member of the old Congress, Judge David Howell, was its first President, and Governor Arthur Fenner one of its Standing Committee. Mr. Hopkins was not pleased with some articles of its Constitution. He desired that "a door [should] be fully open, for persons in any of the New England States to become members" of it. The following is from one of his characteristic, large-hearted letters on the subject, to Moses Brown:

"March 7, 1789. Dear Sir: I have, with pleasure, seen the progress you have made in forming the society for the Abolition of Slavery, and trust it will answer important good ends. But I have objections to the *title* you have given the society: 'The Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade.' I think this is too confined. It should, at least, be extended *to the whole State.* And I think it ought not to be confined to the *abolition of the slave trade.* It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life. Those are, indeed, expressed in the preamble; but why should they not come into the *title* of the society? However, I do not so much insist upon the *last* objection as upon the *first.* I told Mr. Wilkinson, who asked me to set my name to the constitution, that I was ready to do it, if, instead of *Providence*, Rhode Island or the State of Rhode Island might be inserted, and that I would sign it on that condition, that this alteration should be made; and if it were not, I would have liberty to withdraw my subscription. He appeared to be convinced, from the reasons I offered, that the proposed alteration ought to be made, and said it might easily be done. Mr. Thomas Robinson and William Almy were present, and agreed with me. And I suppose all who are willing to subscribe, in this town, and in this part of the State, will insist upon this alteration." *

At Providence, the Abolition Society was not without its powerful enemies. They asserted that it injured the reputation of the slave traders, some of whom were "the best citizens of Newport;" it injured the character of the slaves by inducing them to run away; it tended to prevent the slave trade, which was a real benefit to the Africans, as it saved them from the barbarities of their native land

* Notwithstanding these early objections, Hopkins did become a member of the society, and as such delivered a sermon before it, in 1793. Its name was, ultimately, "The Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Persons unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race." It contained, in 1790, one hundred and eighteen members, of whom sixty-eight lived in Massachusetts, and three in Connecticut. Jonathan Edwards was one of those three. — A deep jealousy prevailed at this time between Providence and Newport,

and introduced them into civilized regions: the *spirit of the society was adverse to the Constitution of the United States, one article of which was made on purpose "to prevent the injustice which this society and their adherents" are practising.* A bold assault was made upon the personal character of some officers of the society. To all this Moses Brown replied, with the beautiful calmness which ever adorned his mild life. Judge Howell came to the rescue with his keen argument and his latinity of style. The opposition was the more serious, because the "Citizen" who prompted it was one of the most powerful men in the State. At the close of the affray, Hopkins sent the following letters to Moses Brown:

"March 30, 1789. I wrote to my much respected friend, several weeks ago, which [letter] I hope you have received. I am sorry to see the unhappy quarrel which has taken place, at Providence. I have the pleasure, however, of believing that the mad opposition the '*Citizen*' is making to the Abolition Society, and particular members of it, will be the means of strengthening it, and of promoting the design for which it has been formed. I am pleased to find you are enabled to maintain such a degree of calmness and fortitude, under the abuse which you and your friends have received from one who, unprovoked, is casting firebrands, arrows, and death, and fighting with creatures of his own imagination. — I have lately received letters from Philadelphia, and I suppose you also have. The Corresponding Committee of the Abolition Society there, rejoice to find a society is formed in Providence. They will do all they can to assist and strengthen our hands. They have sent me an account of a similar society lately formed in Washington, in that State, which they desire may be printed in some New England newspaper. Edes has encouraged me he will insert it in his paper, this week. If he should not, I shall send it to you. If he should, I wish you to get it printed in one or both of the Providence papers. I have also been desired to publish the names of the Corresponding Committee in Philadelphia, which perhaps you will think proper to have published in [the] Providence papers. I am desired to inform my friends at Philadelphia, whether Dr. Hitchcock and Mr. West, who are corresponding members of the Abolition Society in Pennsylvania, have joined the society at Providence; or what part they have acted in the affair. I must depend on you for information respecting them. I have heard that Dr. H. declined joining, at first; but what part he has acted since, I have not been informed; or for what reasons he declined joining in the first formation of the society. Since I saw Mr. Wilkinson, [I] have not heard what additions are made to the society, or how many joined, in Newport, or parts adjacent. I am sensible that the combination and influence in this town is strongly exerted against it; and many, who reprobate the slave trade and slavery, in their own minds, do not choose to appear openly against it, because they feel themselves, in some way, dependent on those whom they should hereby offend."

"August 17, 1789. Much respected Friend: I also think it proper, and of importance, that the design of the society should be expressed so as to comprehend, not only '*The Abolishing the Slave Trade*,' but *the protection and assistance of those blacks who are free.* They are, most of them, exposed to be injured, many ways. And they want direction and assistance in many instances. And if a way should be opened for their settling in Africa, and the society should, in any time hereafter, be able to promote and assist them in such a design, it would be desirable that it might be done consistent with the express design of the society.* What attention has been paid by the society's

* Here is a second allusion to the writer's colonization scheme. It deserves to be recorded, that the Providence Abolition Society not only adopted measures, such as the

committee to the slave trade, as carried on in this town, I know not. There is no informing or corresponding committee here, I suppose. I have heard it observed, that it would be proper to have a committee, or some of the committee, here. But I question whether that would answer any good end. The combined opposition is so great and strong here, that, I think, no committee formed in this town would be able to do much; and if there should be any proper prosecutions, they must be carried on in Providence. However, there might be a corresponding committee here. But the wisdom of those who shall meet, will best determine this."

"November 18, 1789. Dear Sir: I learn that it is a question before the society, Whether any prosecutions shall be commenced against those whose vessels sailed on the slave trade, *before the institution of the society*, but since the law made in this State took place. It appears to me, and I believe to most of the members in this town, if not to all, that if this question should be determined in the negative, the consequence will be very hurtful to the society, if not fatal. The past neglect to prosecute, and the known hesitation respecting it, has had a great and apparent effect already. The slave traders are more bold and resolute to go on in the trade, and entertain a low and contemptuous thought of the society. And if the prosecutions in question should be finally dropped, I am confident it will sink the society in the view of the public in general, and we shall lose our influence, and the design of the institution will be, in a great measure, defeated. I think that lenity in this case, or any thing that looks like irresolution, neglect, and dilatoriness, will fix a slur on the society which cannot easily be wiped off, but will sink it into discredit. Perhaps you and others have formed a different and better judgment, on reasons which do not occur to me. But I thought it duty thus freely to express mine, trusting it will not give any offence. Mr. Hart informed me that a number of merchants in Norwich have lately gone into the slave trade. But it is under such cover, that he knows not that such evidence of the act can be obtained as to afford ground for a legal prosecution. Perhaps time will bring forth evidence."

"March 11, 1790. Dear Sir: I have just received yours of the first instant, by Mr. Buffum, and thank you for the communication. I think the matter ought to be pursued to effect, if the negro can be recovered by law, or [the 'Citizen'] made to suffer the rigor of the law for the good of others. I am no lawyer, so cannot assist in pointing out the method in which the case ought to be prosecuted, but trust you have men able to counsel, at Providence. Mr. Marchant * is not in town. If he were, I would lay the matter before him, and see what he [would] say upon it. It is high time [this 'Citizen'] was taken down a little.† Granville Sharp, Esq. has sent to me several copies of 'A Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations, &c.' I present one to you, to use it and dispose of it as you think proper."

It has been common to speak of Hopkinsianism as an impracticable scheme. Hopkins himself, however, must be considered a practical man. It was, doubtless, a self-denial for him to leave his studies in theology, and mingle with the politics of the day. The preceding letters indicate the zeal with which he engaged in petitioning legislatures, encouraging legal prosecutions, etc. He was evidently *the* man in Rhode Island, to whom appeals were made

memorializing of Congress and various State Legislatures for the prevention of the slave traffic, but was also energetic in protecting free blacks, who were often assailed in the streets, kidnapped, and sent from Rhode Island to other States.

* Hon. Henry Marchant, LL. D., District Judge, an intimate friend of Dr. Stiles.

† This could be more easily proposed than accomplished, for the gentleman alluded to was one of the most eminent men in New England.

from the North and the South, with regard to even the details of political action on the subject of slavery. It is not to be inferred, that he deemed it wise to make himself prominent in all political disputes. He stepped on the arena of civil strife, only when the cause of religion seemed to demand his intervention. He knew how to make exceptions to a rule. This knowledge is a great part of what is called "*common sense.*"

Sect. XXXV. CHRISTIANIZATION OF AFRICA.

The influence of this reformer in lessening the evils of slavery proceeded not alone from his direct animadversions on the system, but also from his scheme for planting the institutions of the gospel upon the African continent. His efforts in prosecuting this scheme, awakened the attention of many Americans and Britons to the importance of abolishing the whole slave system. There is an intimate union between evangelizing the African when at home, and freeing him from his chains when abroad. It was religious principle that prompted Hopkins to his efforts against slavery, and these efforts were allied with an attempt to infuse a religious principle into others. Soon after his installation at Newport, in 1770, he formed a plan for sending the gospel to Africa. After he had matured it in his own mind, he held a consultation on the subject with his theological opponent, Dr. Stiles.* The Doctor at first viewed the plan with indifference, not to say distrust. His suspicion that Hopkins was desirous of trying an experiment with the "New Divinity" upon the dark natives of Guinea may, of right, provoke a smile. In Stiles's Literary Diary, we read:

"April 8, 1773. Yesterday Mr. Hopkins came to see me and discourse with me on a design he is meditating, to make some negro ministers and send them to Guinea. Mr. Hopkins supposes the great reason why the gospel is not received, is because it is mixed with so many false glosses. He believes the Moravians have no Christianity, — most Christians embrace delusions; — and I never find him approving the doctrines usually preached in any churches now in Christendom, whether Congregational, Presbyterian, or, &c. He looks upon all the Protestant churches and ministers in general, as so erroneous and corrupt, that their preaching tends directly to spread delusion, and lead souls religiously down to hell. This is his opinion, to be sure, of most of the New England ministers; except forty or fifty, out of five or six hundred ministers. There are about twenty or twenty-five ministers who fall in with Mr. Hopkins's peculiarities, and twenty more who admire Mr. Edwards's writings, and have a hearty friendship for Mr. Hopkins, though rather as they are friends to all Calvinists, than for all his singularities.† I suppose there

* This amiable gentleman had been in a worse condemnation than Edwards, Bellamy, or Hopkins, with regard to slavery; for he had not only owned, but also imported fresh from Africa a slave, whom, however, he afterwards freed.

† Dr. Stiles here expresses the general opinion of his times with regard to the difference between Edwardean or Hopkinsian Calvinism, and the ordinary Calvinism of New England. Every body regarded Edwards and Hopkins as introducing a new phasis of Calvinism.

are three or four hundred more true Calvinist ministers in New England, who disclaim these peculiarities. I do not find that Mr. Hopkins speaks with approbation of any of them, though I rather think that he esteems some of them.* Yet he is evidently endeavoring to conciliate them, as a distinct body among the churches. But he does not meet with that success in propagating his sentiments in New England which he would wish. And Dr. Witherspoon, and the Synods to the southward in general, are against him. I have thought, whether he had not an inclination that the experiment of his principles should be tried on heathen Africans. There are two negro men, communicants in his church, that he is disposed to train up for this end. The one is Quamine, a free negro, and the other, Yamma, a servant. Now, if he could engage some respectable persons to join in forwarding this affair, he thinks it would lay a foundation of Christianizing the Africans on principles to his mind. He wants, therefore, to contrive that these two negroes should be taken under tuition, perfected in reading the Scriptures, and taught systematical divinity, and so ordained and sent forth. I told him that if thirty or forty proper and well-instructed negroes could be procured, true Christians, and inspired with the spirit of martyrdom, and go forth [expecting that] † ten or a dozen of them should meet death in the cause, and this conducted by a society formed for the purpose, there might be a hopeful prospect. But even this, I feared, would be taken up by the public and secularized, as Dr. Wheelock's Indian College, which has already almost lost sight of its original design; that if one or two should be sent thither by Presbyterians, I could foresee a vigorous opposition soon arising from the Episcopalian traders, and from Mr. Quaque, a negro minister, already sent there from the Church of England. So we left the matter to further thought and consideration. Mr. Hopkins desired me to talk with Quamine, and examine his abilities, which I said I was ready to do.

"April 13. Last evening, Quamine came to see me, to discourse upon the scheme of his becoming a minister. He tells me that he was born at Annamaboe, on the African Gold Coast; that when he was about ten years old, his father delivered him to Captain ———, to bring him to Rhode Island for learning. He came here about eighteen or nineteen years ago, or 1754 or 1755. After sending him to school a while, the captain sold him for a slave. About 1761, he fell under serious impressions of religion, and thenceforward sought to God by secret prayer, about three years. At length, it pleased God that he experienced, as he hopes, a divine change, of which he gave an account to Madam Osborn, in writing, which he addressed to her, dated October 8, 1764, dictated by Quamine, and written by his female fellow-servant; and afterwards in another to Deacon Coggeshall, which Mr. Hopkins brought me yesterday. In 1765, he made a profession, was baptized by Rev. Mr. Vinall, and admitted a member in the First Congregational Church in town, and has behaved exemplarily and soberly ever since. He tells me that ever since he tasted the grace of the Lord Jesus, he [has felt an] earnest desire or wish that his relations and countrymen in Africa might also come to the knowledge of, and taste the same blessed things.

"I examined his reading, and asked him what part of the Bible he had read most. He said, Matthew, John, Romans, and Corinthians. I turned him to the first chapter of John's Gospel. He read but indifferently; not freely, but slowly, yet distinctly, and pretty accurately. I turned him to the tenth chapter, and also [to the] ninety-eighth Psalm, which he read slowly, and though not freely, yet distinctly. I advised him to read the Bible in course, two or

* That Mr. Hopkins was accustomed to take rather dark views of his times there can be no doubt. In a letter dated July 7, 1766, he characterizes a certain class of Massachusetts ministers, as "awfully sunken creatures." Still, the picture here given of him by Dr. Stiles, seems to be overshaded. The worthy diarist probably gave too literal and exact an interpretation to some of Mr. Hopkins's strong language.

† The words in brackets are substituted for an obscure phrase in the original.

three chapters daily, to perfect himself in reading, while, at the same time, he would increase in Scripture knowledge. He has had but little time for reading; seldom any but Lord's days. I did not try him as to writing, but he said he had begun to write last winter. He is pretty judicious, but not communicative, and I am doubtful whether he would be *apt to teach*. He certainly wants much improvement to qualify him for the gospel ministry, if, indeed, such a thing was advisable."

The preceding narrative of Dr. Stiles impresses upon us the conviction, that the literary prospects of these two candidates for the ministry were somewhat ominous. It is delightful to reflect on the resolute, unwavering, indomitable spirit of Hopkins, in taking men from this low condition, and training them for a missionary work on the African continent. If the wisdom of the enterprise be doubted, its benevolence will be admired. It did secure the approbation of the wisest men; for they have always known, that great results come from small beginnings.

Dr. Stiles had a true benevolence of heart, and also a profound respect for the divine, whose high Calvinism he disliked. He entered at last into a cordial union with Mr. Hopkins, in promoting the spiritual good of Africa, and he signed his name to the following Circular, which was written mainly by Mr. Hopkins, and was distributed among the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

"To all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, in the salvation of sinners, the following narrative and proposal are offered, to excite and solicit their charity and prayers.

"There are two colored men, members of the First Congregational Church in Newport,* on Rhode Island, named *Bristol Yamma*, and *John Quamine*, who were hopefully converted some years ago, and have from that time sustained a good character as Christians, and have made good proficiency in Christian knowledge. The latter is son of a rich man at Annamaboe, and was sent by his father to this place for an education among the English, and then to return home. All this the person to whom he was committed engaged to perform, for a good reward. But, instead of being faithful to his trust, he sold him a slave for life. But God, in his providence, has put it in the power of both of them to obtain their freedom. The former is, however, fifty dollars in debt, as he could not purchase his freedom under two hundred dollars; which he must procure by his labor, unless relieved by the charity of others.

"These persons, thus acquainted with Christianity, and apparently devoted to the service of Christ, are about thirty years old; have good natural abilities; are apt, steady, and judicious, and speak their native language, — the language of a numerous, potent nation in Guinea, to which they both belong. They are not only *willing*, but *very desirous* to quit all worldly prospects, and risk their lives in attempting to open a door for the propagation of Christianity among their poor, ignorant, perishing heathen brethren.

"The concurrence of all these things has led to set on foot a proposal to send them to Africa, to preach the gospel there, if, upon trial, they shall appear in any good measure qualified for this business. In order to this, they must be put to school, and taught to read and write better than they now can, and be instructed more fully in divinity, &c. And if, upon trial, they appear to make good proficiency, and shall be thought by competent judges to be fit

* This church, it will be recollected, was under the pastoral charge of Dr. Hopkins.

for such a mission, it is not doubted that money may be procured sufficient to carry the design into execution.

"What is now wanted and asked is money to pay the debt mentioned, and to support them at school, to make the trial whether they may be fitted for the proposed mission. Whatever shall be given to this end, and put into the hands of the subscribers, they engage faithfully to improve to this purpose only, and to promote the proposed mission according to their best discretion; and to be at all times ready to give an account to those who desire it, of all they shall receive, and the manner in which it has been expended.

"As God has, in his providence, so far opened the way to this, by raising up these persons, and ordering the remarkable concurring circumstances and events which have been mentioned, and there is, most probably, no other instance in America, where so many things conspire to point out the way for a mission of this kind, with such encouragement to pursue it, may it not be hoped it will have the patronage and assistance of all the pious and benevolent?

"And it is humbly proposed to those who are convinced of the iniquity of the *slave trade*, and are sensible of the great inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving so many thousands of our fellow-men every year, with all the dreadful and horrid attendants, and are ready to bear testimony against it in all proper ways, and do their utmost to put a stop to it, whether they have not a good opportunity of doing this, by cheerfully contributing according to their ability, to promote the mission proposed; and whether this is not the best compensation we are able to make the poor Africans, for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice and all its attendants.

"But, aside from this consideration, may it not be hoped that all who are heartily praying, *Thy kingdom come*, will liberally contribute to forward this attempt to send the glorious gospel of the blessed God to the nations who now worship false gods, and dwell in the habitations of cruelty, and the land of the shadow of death; especially, since the King of Zion has promised that whosoever parts with any thing in this world, *for the kingdom of God's sake*, shall receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

EZRA STILES,
SAMUEL HOPKINS.

"Newport, Rhode Island, August 31, 1773."

This truly missionary appeal secured an immediate and an encouraging response. In a letter dated February 7, 1774, Hopkins writes to Dr. Hart:

"I thank you for your letter from Providence, and the enclosed from Mr. Potter. I have communicated it to Dr. Stiles, and we both think Dr. Wheelock's proposals cannot take place to any advantage. At present, it is thought best the negroes should continue at Newport, as they live cheaper here than they could elsewhere, and are instructed *gratis*. And they would be little or no advantage to Dr. Wheelock's negro boy, in his learning their native language, as 'tis not best they should attend to that much, now. If that boy was otherwise fitted, and the mission should take effect, he might go with them, or after they had made the first attempt, and would soon learn the language by their assistance. If you write, Dr. Stiles and I desire you to present our compliments to Dr. Wheelock, and thank him for his kind offer of his assistance, and his good wishes to the design.

"Our society of women contributed the first time to promote the African mission, last Tuesday, which they spent together as a day of fasting and prayer for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Gordon has informed me that £5 sterling is ready for me in a merchant's hands in Boston. The ministers in Berkshire county have sent a letter to Dr. Stiles and me, highly approving of our design, and earnestly wishing it success. And Mr.

West has sent £3 16s. lawful [money], which was contributed by them, except three dollars of it, which Miss Pamela Dwight generously gave.

"Dr. Stiles and I think the forwardness to promote the African mission, manifested by you and the ministers in connection with you, and a number among your people and Mr. Benedict's, and your and their generous contributions toward it, worthy of particular notice; and we desire you, as you have opportunity, to express to them our thankful acknowledgments, and wishes that they may have the reward which is promised to every one who parts with this world's goods, for the kingdom of God's sake.

"Nothing new since the last date, except that the Doctor and I have received a line from the North Association in Hartford county, informing that they approve of the proposal, in general; but wait for information by which they may judge of the probability of the negroes being qualified for and successful in the proposed mission, in order to do any thing to encourage it."

It is always difficult to separate theological partialities from practical beneficence. Human nature works its way into the best schemes. Some friends of Dr. Stiles were not so liberal to the African mission as were the friends of Mr. Hopkins. In the Literary Diary of Dr. Stiles we find the following *morceau:* "October 6, 1773. I received a letter from Dr. Chauncy, in which he asks an account of the two negroes intended for the African mission. He thinks a white missionary ought to go with them, and should not be educated by Mr. H——; for he thinks that the negroes had better continue in paganism than embrace Mr. H——'s scheme, which he judges far more blasphemous." *

But Mr. Hopkins was not a man who would allow a theological prejudice to defeat a benevolent scheme. Probably for the sake of allaying such a prejudice, he consented that the two negroes should be sent to Princeton; for although he dissented from some of the theories which were taught there, still he was too catholic to deny, that the "*substance* of doctrine" was retained at the college of Edwards and Burr. Accordingly we read in Stiles's Literary Diary:

"November 22, 1774. Yesterday morning sailed from hence for New York, in their way to Princeton, Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, two freed negroes of this town, designed for an African mission. We have sent them to reside some time at Jersey College, under the tuition of President Witherspoon. Last night there was a very severe storm and high wind, — a very dangerous gale. They arrived safe at New York." Two days afterward, Dr. Stiles records, "November 24. To-day, Mr. Hopkins and I signed a set of bills for £50 sterling; being three bills dated this day, which we drew on Mr. John McIntosh, of Lothbury, London, by order of the Society in Edinburgh for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in a letter to us from Mr.

* Between Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, and Mr. Hopkins, one would not anticipate a theological harmony. For many years there had been a mutual dread of each other. In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, Mr. Hopkins writes: "All the *uncircumcised*, in and about Boston, set up Dr. Chauncy as the standard, and say he has struck out the right path in his sermons. Mr. Blair [of Old South Church] is zealous to have some remarks made upon them, as he thinks they contain the sum of all the poison artfully intermixed and concealed. I believe if he could be well exposed and taken down, it would give the greatest blow to that powerful and rising party; and wish you would carefully read him with that view, if your health will permit. I have bought and brought him home with me."

James Forrest, dated February last, it being for the use of educating Bristol and Quamino, two negroes, for the African mission."

On the 10th of April, 1776, Dr. Stiles and Mr. Hopkins signed a second Circular, and afterward published it in a pamphlet. It was written, as was the first, mainly by Hopkins, and exhibits remarkable evidence of his perseverance in the missionary work at that early day. After quoting their Appeal of August 31, 1773, they add:

"In consequence of this proposal [to educate the two negroes for the African mission], numbers have generously contributed to promote the design; and we have received £102 1*s.* 4*d.* 3*f.*, lawful money; of which £55 8*s.* 3*f.* has been given in New England; £30 sterling has been given by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge; and a gentleman in London has sent us £5 sterling. And we have had encouragement, both from Scotland and England, that more would be given, if wanted, and the proposed mission should take place. But all intercourse with Great Britain is now cut off.

"We have had the approbation of a number of gentlemen who have seen the proposal. The presbytery of New York, and the associated ministers of several counties in Connecticut, have written us, highly approving of the design. Mr. Forrest, clerk of the society in Scotland, mentioned above, writes in the following words:

"'The perusal of this memorial * gave great satisfaction to the directors, while it excited their admiration at the various secret and seemingly most unlikely means, whereby an all-wise Providence sees meet to accomplish his gracious purposes. At the same time, they rejoiced at the fair prospect now afforded to extend the Mediator's kingdom to those nations who dwell, at present, in the habitations of cruelty, and in the land of the shadow of death. After saying so much, it is almost unnecessary to add, that the plan suggested in your memorial received the warmest approbation of the directors of the society, and that they highly applauded your pious zeal in this matter, which they earnestly wish and hope may be crowned with success.'

"The two men above mentioned have been at school and under instruction most of the time since the date of the above proposal. They have spent one winter at Princeton, under the care of Dr. Witherspoon, President of the college there. And they have made such proficiency, and are in such a measure qualified for the mission proposed, that they would enter upon it directly, were there opportunity to send them to Africa, (which there is not at present, by reason of the state of our public affairs,) and had we money sufficient to furnish them for this purpose.

"Since this design has been on foot, means have been used † to get intelligence of John Quamine's family, by writing to *Philip Quaque*, a colored man, and native of Guinea, who is missionary from the Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and resides at Cape Coast Castle, by relating to him the manner of his being brought from Guinea, and sending his description of his father's family, and informing that he was now free, and had thoughts of returning to his native country, &c. In answer to which he writes as follows:

"'It is with inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction that I acquaint you, that

* The Circular of August 31, 1773, quoted above on p. 131.

† Mr. Hopkins wrote a letter of inquiry to Mr. Quaque, on this subject. Mr. Quaque was an Episcopal missionary, ordained in 1765. He died October 17, 1816, aged seventy-five years, having been a useful chaplain and teacher in his native land about half a century.

my inquiries after the friends and relations of that gentleman have met with the desired success. The minute account he entertains you with of his family and kindred, is just. For, by inquiring, I have found his father's name to be the same which you mention, who has been dead many years. His mother's name is as you have written it, who is still alive, and whom I had the pleasure of seeing. But the bowels of maternal affection — in truth do I declare it — seem ready to burst, and break forth in tears of joy, like Jacob when he heard that his beloved son Joseph was yet alive. The joy it kindled on the occasion, in expectation of seeing once more the fruit of her loins before she with her gray hairs goes down to the grave, throws her into ecstasies resembling Jacob's, and in raptures she breaks forth and says, *It is enough! My son is yet alive! I hope, by God's blessing, to see him before I die.* His uncle is called by the same name mentioned in your favor. In short, every circumstance is agreeable to the description given me in your letter. A great personage of his family, whose name is *Oforee*, and now enjoys his father's estate, desires, with great importunity, that I would earnestly petition you that he may be returned to them as soon as may be, and promises that nothing shall be wanting to make him, and all about him, comfortable and happy among his own kindred. And the whole family unanimously join in requesting me to render you all the grateful acknowledgments and thanks they are able to return for your paternal care and affection exercised toward him, and beg me to tell you, that as it is not in their power to requite you for all your trouble, they therefore hope that the good God of Heaven will recompense you hereafter for your labor of love bestowed on him.'

"In a letter of a later date, he writes in the following manner:

"'The mother is still looking with impatience for the return of her son, once dead and lost. She, and the principal cousin, who possesses the estate of his father, join in earnestly entreating you would, in your Christian love and charity to them, send the lad again, that he may receive their cordial embraces, looking upon themselves sufficient to support him. I received the charitable proposals, and sincerely thank you therefor. And I am joyful to hear, that there are Africans with you who partake of the blessings of the gospel, and in time may be the means of promoting the greatest and best interest of Africans here. I wish to God for its speedy accomplishment, when the nation who are now called not the children of Jehovah, shall become the prophets of the Lord, and the children of the living God. May the benediction of the Almighty prosper all their undertakings, to the saving of many souls.'

"A native of Annamaboe has lately arrived at Newport, who is a free man, and appears to be a sensible, inquisitive person, and is recommended by the captain he came with, as a man of integrity and good behavior. He is a relation of John Quamine's, and well acquainted with his family, and confirms the above account. He expresses a desire to learn to read, &c., and to be instructed in the Christian religion, sensible that he and his countrymen are ignorant of the way in which men may find favor with God, and that they stand in need of a revelation from him, in order to know what he requires of them. He says, he has heard we have such a revelation among us, and he desires to know what it contains. He informs, that he knows of a number of youths at Annamaboe, who have a great desire to learn to read and write, &c., and would come into these parts for that end, were they not afraid of being deceived and sold. He appears pleased with the proposal to send blacks to teach his people, and thinks they will be kindly received and attended to.

"There is another colored man, named *Salmar Nubia*, a member of the Second Congregational Church* in Newport, who is promising as a person of a good genius, and giving evidence of real piety. He is about twenty years

* This church was under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Dr. Stiles.

old, and has lately had his freedom given to him. He is greatly desirous and engaged, in some way to promote the spread of the gospel among the Africans. We think there is good encouragement to be at the expense of fitting him for a missionary or a schoolmaster among them.

"What has been given to promote this design is nearly expended already; — a particular account of the expenses any one who pleases may see at any time. Money is now wanted still to carry it on, — to support these men till they have an opportunity to go to Guinea, — to furnish them with necessaries for their voyage and mission, — to set up schools to teach the youth and children, if a way shall open for this; and for any other services to promote this important design, as God in his providence shall direct.

"Since it has pleased God so far to succeed this design in his providence, and in such a remarkable manner to open the way, from step to step, and give such hopeful prospects, and good encouragement to pursue it, we think it our duty still to prosecute it, and ask the benefactions of all who shall be willing to promote an undertaking in itself so benevolent; and which, though small in its beginning, may hopefully issue in something very great, and open the way to the happiness and salvation of multitudes; yea, of many nations, who are now in the most miserable state, ready to perish in the darkness of heathenism.

"We beg leave also to observe, that the present state of our public affairs is so far from being a reason for neglecting this proposal, that it seems rather to afford strong reasons to encourage it. For while we are struggling for our civil and religious liberties, it will be peculiarly becoming and laudable to exert ourselves to procure the same blessings for others, so far as it is in our power. And when God is so remarkably interposing, and ordering such a series of events in our favor, in this time of general distress, is there not a special call to pay this tribute to him, according as he has prospered us, as one likely method to obtain the continuance of his favor and protection?

EZRA STILES,
SAMUEL HOPKINS."

The revolutionary war interrupted these missionary exertions of Hopkins for a time, but eighteen years after he had commenced them, he wrote to Dr. Hart with as fresh an interest as ever:

"June 10, 1791. I also received a letter [by a late arrival] from the Rev. Mr. Kemp, Secretary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which I propose to enclose to you for your judgment and advice. — Bristol Yamma is the first black on my list for a missionary. Salmar Nubia, alias Jack Mason, has been thought of for another, by Dr. Stiles and me. He is sufficiently zealous to go. He came from the windward coast. The nation to which he belongs is at a great distance from the sea. He retains his native language in a considerable degree. I suppose you were acquainted with him when he lived at Preston. Newport Gardner is, in my view, next to Bristol, and in some things excels him. He is a discerning, judicious, steady, good man; and feels greatly interested in promoting a Christian settlement in Africa, and promoting Christianity there.* These I consider as the first three in America for such a design. Newport's master offers to free him, his wife, and all his children but one, on condition he will live with him two years from the first of this month, and receive three dollars per month during that term. This offer is beyond our expectation, and we hope he will yet give up the condition last mentioned.

"If it were thought best that a white man should go with them,† perhaps a man cannot be found, of a character suited to such a business, who would

* Here is an allusion to Hopkins's favorite plan of Christian Colonization.

† See Dr. Chauncy's proposition on p. 133, above.

be willing to undertake. You must be one to judge of the qualifications of those who are proposed to be missionaries, and to make report to the society in Scotland. And you must plan, advise, and prosecute. I am too old to do much. Perhaps you can influence the African Society in Connecticut to approve of some plan of this kind, and to exert themselves to get subscribers to promote the design. If application were made by them, or a committee authorized by them to the Legislature, to grant a brief for a contribution in all the congregations through the State, it might be obtained. The African Societies in Pennsylvania, New York, and this State, are composed of so many Quakers, who make the most active, ruling part; and they, for some reason or other, are not disposed to promote such a design. Therefore, there is no encouragement to apply to them for assistance. If the society in Connecticut should take the lead in promoting such a design, perhaps they might fall in afterwards, and join to carry it on. You will return the enclosed letter, when you have made all the use of it you think proper."

The correspondence of our philanthropist, on his favorite project of evangelizing Africa, was more extensive than has been supposed. He wrote to Britons and Americans, to men and women, to blacks and whites. Among others whom he addressed on the subject, was that interesting negress, Phillis Whentley.* One would scarcely expect that a logical divine, at the age of fifty-three, would devote himself to the business of selling copies of a poetical volume, which was written by a female slave at the age of twenty.† But there was nothing, honest and proper, which this enterprising man was unwilling to do for the welfare of the African race. He was not so versatile as he was strong, yet he had a richer variety of gifts than has been commonly ascribed to him. The nature of his correspondence with Phillis Whentley is disclosed in the following letter, which she wrote to him, a few months after her book of poetry was published in London. She was about twenty-one years old at the date of her epistle. The chirography of it is remarkably beautiful. It is here copied *verbatim et literatim.*

"Reverend Sir: I received your kind letter last evening by Mr. Pemberton, by whom also this is to be handed you. I have also received the money for the five books I sent Obour, and 2*s.* 6*d.* more for another. She has wrote me, but the date is 29 April. I am very sorry to hear, that Philip Quaque has very little or no *apparent* success in his mission. Yet I wish that what you hear respecting him may be only a misrepresentation. Let us not be discouraged, but still hope that God will bring about his great work. though Philip may *not* be the instrument in the divine hand to perform this work of wonder, turning the Africans '*from darkness to light.*' Possibly, if Philip would introduce himself properly to them, (I don't know the reverse,) he might be more successful; and in setting a good example, which is more powerfully winning than instruction. I observe your reference to the maps of Guinea and Salmon's Gazetteer, and shall consult them. I have received, in some of the last ships from London, three hundred more copies of my poems, and wish to dispose of them as soon as possible. If you know of any being wanted, I flatter myself you will be pleased to let me know it, which will be adding one more to the many obligations already conferred on her,

* See an account of her in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

† Dr. Channing says, p. 110, above, that Hopkins had no relish for poetry.

who is, with a due sense of your kindness, your most humble and obedient servant, PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

"Boston, May 6, 1774. — The Reverend S. Hopkins."

As early as 1773, a society had been formed in Newport, under the auspices of Mr. Hopkins and Dr. Stiles, for the education and subsequent maintenance of these African missionaries. He then gave to this society the hundred dollars for which, in the days of his ignorance, he had sold his slave. Twenty years afterward, in 1793–4, when he received nine hundred dollars for the copyright of his System of Divinity, he contributed one hundred of it to this society. It was an Education Society. It was also a Foreign Missionary Society. In connection with it, there was a kind of monthly concert for prayer. It was probably in allusion to this concert, that Dr. Channing says:* "It was my habit, in the years 1800 and 1801, to attend a monthly meeting of prayer for the revival and spread of religion. Our number sometimes did not exceed twenty or thirty. Still, a collection was taken for missionary purposes, and, as most of us were very poor, our contributions did not greatly exceed the widow's mite. On one occasion, as I have heard from Dr. Patten, however, a hundred dollar bill appeared in the box. Dr. Hopkins had received the same for the copyright of one of his books, and he made this offering at a time when he received next to no salary, and often, as I understood, depended for his dinner on the liberality of a parishioner." †

SECT. XXXVI. COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.

The plan which Mr. Hopkins formed for evangelizing Africa, was also a plan for colonizing it with reputable negroes from America. From various intimations it is probable, that he distinctly meditated this plan of colonization as early, at least, as April, 1773. He did not intend to dissociate the missionary life of the Africans whom he educated, from the civilized life of the Africans whom he would fain send out with these missionaries. His colonization was to be religious in its spirit and aims.

The first *distinct* allusion which we find to his scheme for planting a colony of liberated slaves in Africa, proves that the scheme was then far from being a novelty in his mind. It is mentioned as a plan which had been contemplated for some time. Thus he writes to Moses Brown the following very distinct words:

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

† Letter of February 14, 1840. It is possible that Dr. Channing here alludes to the hundred dollars which Hopkins gave *subsequently* to 1793–4, the time of receiving the copyright of his *System*. If so, the gift had no connection, perhaps, with the African mission. One of Hopkins's early successors in the ministry at Newport, has informed the writer, that Hopkins gave *one half* of the copyright for his System to the African mission.

"April 29, 1784. There has been a proposal on foot some time, that a number of blacks should return to Africa, and settle there; that a number, who have been under the most serious impressions of religion, should lead the way, and when they are fixed there, should improve all opportunities to teach the Africans the doctrines and duties of Christianity, both by precept and example. In order to this, a number who shall be thought best qualified for this business, must *first* be sent to Africa, to treat with some of the nations there, and request of them lands, proper and sufficient for them and as many as shall go with them to settle upon. It is presumed land would be freely given. And it is thought, that such a settlement would not only be for the benefit of those who shall return to their native country, but it would be the most likely and powerful means of putting a stop to the slave trade, as well as of increasing Christian knowledge among those heathens. In order to this, there must be some expense. A vessel must be obtained, and a cargo procured of such things as will sell there, (all spirits excepted.*) A captain must be found, who can be relied upon, and paid. This supposes a sufficient number of blacks may be found for sailors, who are used to the sea, and that the advantage of the trade will repay most of the expense. I communicate these hints of a plan to you, that I may know how far you approve of it, and whether you think it practicable. And if you do, whether you, in conjunction with some of your able friends, would advance any thing considerable to promote such a design. It has been said by some, and doubtless by many, 'There are a number of men who have large estates, much of which they have gotten by the slave trade, who now profess to be convinced they have done wrong in having any hand in that trade, and manifest great zeal against it, and are great enemies of slavery. Let them show their repentance by their *works;* by giving up a considerable part of their estates to liberate the Africans and promote their good. Let them do this, and we will believe them sincere and honest men, but not before, &c.'" †

The following important letter to Mr. Brown was written just one month and one day before the first colony of blacks set sail from England for Sierra Leone:

"March 7, 1787. Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by Dr. Thornton, a gentleman from the West Indies, who has been in this city ‡ some weeks. He brings no recommendation, but appears to me to be an honest man, though too flighty and unsteady, perhaps, to be at the head of an affair in which he is very zealous: *a settlement of the American blacks in some part of Africa.* Should he have opportunity to converse with you, which I wish, and [which] will be agreeable to him, he will communicate to you his plan, &c. § I have, as you know, sir, been for years desirous of an attempt to make such a settlement, and am glad to hear that Friends in Britain, and other dissenters, have joined to carry this into execution, I suppose upon the late Dr. Fothergil's plan. I wish some gentlemen, who are able, would send a vessel to Africa,

* As far as we can judge from the journal and letters of Hopkins, he was disposed to insert a temperance clause in all his important negotiations which would admit it.

† This closing appeal is another illustration of the unbending faithfulness which characterized its author. He knew that the charge of inconsistency had been brought against the estimable man whom he was addressing, (see p. 123, above,) and he meant to use this fact as a motive for a more generous contribution to the new enterprise.

‡ In 1784, Newport was incorporated a city, but returned to its old town government in 1787, a few days after the date of this letter.

§ It is important here to notice that Mr. Hopkins does not allude to Dr. Thornton's plan, as in any degree *novel.* His fears relate merely to the prudence of Dr. Thornton in executing it. Dr. Alexander says that Dr. Thornton "is still remembered as a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist." See History of African Colonization, p. 61.

perhaps to the Ivory Coast, with a proper cargo to trade there for ivory, &c.; and that some proper persons might go and treat with the princes or nations there for land, on which those who are disposed to return might settle. I think there would be a prospect of their gaining, rather than their losing money by such an undertaking, beside their promoting such a good design. I thank you for your letter of January, 1786, and the pamphlets enclosed with it. I have dispersed most of them, where I thought they might be of the most service. I have seen the piece, upon the slave trade, which obtained the highest prize in the University of Cambridge, in the year 1785, which you mentioned, and hope it will do much good. I conclude you have seen it. I have not been able to effect the design toward which you generously offered to give twenty dollars,* as I have been much confined at home the year past. You have doubtless been informed that a gold medal was offered by the Society in New York for Liberating the Africans, for the best piece against the slave trade, to be produced at the last commencement in the college there. I have not heard any thing further of it. — Any further intelligence from Britain, or any other quarter, which you shall be able to communicate, respecting the slave trade, and the resettlement of blacks in Africa, will be thankfully received by your respectful friend, S. Hopkins."

Nearly two years after the preceding epistle, we find its resolute author addressing Granville Sharp, the eminent colonizationist of Great Britain. The letter is inserted, with some abridgment, in Prince Hoare's Memoir of Mr. Sharp, pp. 310–312; but the whole of it is now published for the first time.

"Newport, January 15, 1789. Sir: As I am an utter stranger to you, I presume to introduce myself by the following narrative: I am the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, on Rhode Island. I spent the former part of my life a hundred and fifty miles from this place; have lived here near twenty years. When I removed to this town, my attention was soon turned to the *slave trade*, which had been long carried on here, and was still continued. It appeared to me wholly unjustifiable and exceeding inhumane and cruel; and I thought I was obliged, in duty, to condemn it in public and preach against it. I had better success than I expected, and most of my hearers were convinced that it was a very wrong and wicked practice. But this procured to me many enemies in the town, which were increased and more irritated when I proceeded, as I soon did, to condemn the holding these Africans in perpetual slavery, who were brought here by the iniquitous slave trade. I was, so far as I then knew, almost alone in my opposition to the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans; but since, [I] have read, with great satisfaction, your writings on that subject, some of which, I believe, were published before the time above mentioned, and the writings of others. And I have had the pleasure of finding a conviction of the evil of this practice to spread and prevail in America. And two respectable and numerous societies are formed, one in New York and the other in Philadelphia, with a view to promote the abolition of the slavery of the Africans, and protect and assist those who have obtained their freedom; of which you have doubtless been fully informed; of both which societies I have the honor to be a corresponding member.

"In Massachusetts, all the Africans are made free by their Constitution, and many have obtained their freedom in this State. But their circumstances are, in many respects, unhappy, while they live here among the whites; the latter looking down upon them, and being disposed to treat them as under-

* An allusion to the Prize Essay which was mentioned in the letter of February 10, 1786, to Dr. Hart, and which was suggested to Mr. Brown by the Prize Essay of Clarkson, noticed by Hopkins a few lines above.

lings, and denying them the advantages of education and employment, &c., which tends to depress their minds and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, &c. This and other considerations have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct church or religious society, and to have a black appointed as their pastor, (and there is one, at least, who is thought qualified for that office,) and then to go, with all the blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity; at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising cotton, coffee, &c., for exportation, as well as for their own use. This plan I have had in view for some time, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America to carry it into execution; there being no means yet found to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa with a number of blacks, to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement.

"In the mean time, we have, to our great joy, been informed, that such a plan was projected and executed in England, in which the society of which you are a member, had a great, if not a chief hand. We were assured that several ships, with a considerable number of blacks, sailed from England for Africa, in February, 1787, with a design to make a settlement on the Windward Coast. We have been earnestly waiting for an authentic information of the success of this expedition, and the place and circumstances of the proposed settlement, but have received none to this day. It is indeed mentioned by the Dean of Middleton, in his letter to the treasurer of our society, (p. 14, note,) that a settlement is already established at Sierra Leone; and he intimates that there is room for more settlers. And it is reported from Africa, that those blacks have arrived there from England, and that a tract of land twenty miles square had been procured for them, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leone, and that the settlement is going on. But we have contradictory reports of the success of it.

"I have thought, as do the most intelligent whites and blacks with whom I am acquainted, that if such a tract of land is procured, there is much more of it than can be occupied by the blacks which went from England, and therefore the design might be forwarded by giving a part of it to the blacks in America, who are disposed to go and settle there. We have a considerable number of freed blacks, in New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labor, either on lands, or as mechanics, and are hereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement, better than any other blacks, I believe, that can be found.

"All this, sir, is a lengthy introduction to the following request: that you would please to inform me, whether such a tract of land is procured, and on what conditions; whether the blacks, who settle on it, have the fee of the land; under what government they are; whether British, or their own by a particular civil constitution, formed for them, to be executed by themselves, or some English gentlemen who are for that end to reside among them; whether there is any provision made to maintain and propagate religious knowledge among them and others who may live in their neighborhood; whether the settlers have behaved well, and prospered, since they began, and what progress they have made; finally, whether the blacks in America, who are disposed to go, can have any part of these lands to settle themselves upon, and on what terms; and what encouragement and assistance might they probably have.

"If you are pleased to be at the trouble of writing me on this subject, a letter sent to any of the members of either of the societies above mentioned,

will come safe to me. I take leave to enclose to you some of my anonymous writings on the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans; and am, with great esteem and respect, your humble servant, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Light will be reflected on the movements of Mr. Hopkins, by inserting here the reply which he received from Mr. Sharp:

"Leadenhall Street, July 25, 1789. Reverend Sir: Some little time after your letter came to my hands, I received an account respecting the new settlement at Sierra Leone, so very discouraging that I began to be doubtful whether I ought to communicate to you the same invitation for the blacks in America to go to Sierra Leone which I had sent some time before to Philadelphia and New York. I received such alarming intelligence of a conspiracy, stirred up by the slave traders to cut off the settlement, that I began to give it up for lost. It is but a few days ago, (the twenty-second instant,) that these fears have been removed, by the arrival of one of the settlers, with letters from the Governor and several other persons in the settlement.

"The messenger was sent on purpose with these letters, and had no other means of coming hither than by going in a slave ship round by the West Indies. By these letters I find that, contrary to my fears, their enemies have not dared to meddle with the settlers, and that they are very well united, and had punished two different captains of slave ships for ill behavior, by fine and imprisonment, which occasioned the late combination against them. But their numbers did not exceed one hundred and twenty people, men, women, and children, altogether. However, I am informed that since those letters were written, some more of the settlers, who had been dispersed in the neighborhood, were returned, and that they are in all about two hundred people.

"All the white people whom I sent out last year, to assist in supporting the settlement, have been wicked enough to go into the service of the slave trade at the neighboring factories, having been enticed away, I suppose, by high wages; but the people who remained in the settlement have carefully adhered to their promise, not to permit the iniquity of *slave dealing in the Province of Freedom*; so that, though they have not kept up strictly to other Regulations which I proposed for them, yet, in this most essential point, they deserve commendation. I shall send you, by the first ship, copies of the Regulations which I wished to establish there.

"As the settlement has been lately repurchased of King Naimbanna, the settlers, I think, must now submit to receive and accommodate all new comers with equal lots of land, *gratis*, until they amount at least to six hundred householders, notwithstanding the limitation of time in the Regulations; so that I hope I may venture to assert, that whatever people from America will engage to submit to the terms of the Regulations and the English government, (which must be perfectly free, whilst frank-pledge and a universal militia are maintained,) will be admitted to free lots, even if they amount to more than double that number, provided that *they go all at one time*, and show this letter, or a copy of it, to the Governor and Assembly of Settlers in the Province of Freedom.

"In addition to the accounts which I had before received, the settlers, who brought me the last letters, inform me that the land is very good, and the neighboring natives very civil; and that King Naimbanna, a very reverend old man, whose town is just beyond the borders of the settlement, is particularly kind to them. These accounts are corroborated by three other settlers, who have been here some time, and are all very anxious to get back again as soon as they can. But I am sorry to inform you, that all my expense and endeavors to procure a *live stock of cattle* have been rendered abortive by the imprudence of the captain with whom I contracted to procure it; for, instead of delivering the cattle at the settlement, as he ought to have done, he only gave *goods* to the *value* of a certain number of cattle, and obtained a certificate from the settlers that they had received *the value of so much cattle*

though they have no means of transporting any to the settlement; and, therefore, if any people are sent from America, it will be right to make some little reserve of goods, or dollars, to purchase a few *lean, breeding cattle* on the African coast, for their *live stock*, as they will very soon increase, because there is plenty of grass, and cattle thrive exceedingly well in most parts of the African coast, where any attention is paid to them. I am, with sincere esteem and respect, reverend sir," &c., &c.

How many other letters our Newport divine wrote, on this theme, to persons of wealth and influence, it is impossible to determine. Two houses, in which were probably many communications from his pen, were consumed by fire, with all their contents, several years after his death. It is certain, however, that he had a lengthened correspondence on the subject with Dr. John Erskine, of Edinburgh, the friend of President Edwards. One letter from Hopkins to Erskine is here published for the first time.

"January 14, 1789. Dear Sir: I feel myself delinquent, when I find I have not written you since January 1, 1788. This has been owing chiefly to my not having any thing of importance to communicate or transmit to you. I have, since that, received two letters with packets from you. The first was dated October 29, 1787, which did not come till May 11, 1788. The last, April 3, 1788, which came to hand the eleventh of August last, for which I am much indebted to you. There have been no publications here of late, which have come within my reach, which are worthy of your particular notice. There has not been any revival of religion that I have heard of in the year past, except what has taken place at Dartmouth College, and in some towns west of that in Vermont, which, I have been informed, has been considerable, but do not know particulars. Infidelity, Universalism, irreligion, and worldliness generally prevail. Dr. Bellamy yet lives in much the same state of body and mind in which he has been above two years; utterly helpless, and in a considerable degree insane, especially at times. Last September, Dr. Stiles transmitted to me a letter which he had received from you, respecting the blacks, by whom it has been proposed to propagate Christian knowledge in Africa; in which you propose, if we think proper, that Drs. Stiles, Wales, Edwards and I should jointly address the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, on that head, representing the state and circumstances of that affair, and the prospects there were of answering some important good end by encouraging and prosecuting it; and that it was likely, that society would advance something considerable in order to promote such a design. The matter has been considered, and it does not appear best to apply to the society at present. There is a number of Christian blacks who stand ready to unite in a church state, and have a pastor set over them, (and there is one at least who is thought fit for that office,) and go to Africa and settle there among their brethren, and maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and propagate Christian knowledge in that heathen land, as they shall have opportunity. But no way has yet opened to send some persons to Africa to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement. If this were done, the way would be open to prosecute the design, and it would, doubtless, meet with encouragement in America, and the assistance of your society would answer important ends.

"A settlement of blacks has, within these two years, been made from England, at Sierra Leone, in Africa, and it is said that a purchase of land twenty miles square has been made for them. We hope to know soon on what conditions this land may be settled, and whether the blacks which would go from America may have any of this tract to settle upon. If it should be found that they may, the way would be opened to prosecute our plan, and then we

should, doubtless, apply to your society for assistance, not doubting of their readiness to grant it. I am your obliged, affectionate friend,

SAMUEL HOPKINS."

The ensuing letter to Dr. Hart unfolds the union, which existed in the mind of Hopkins, between the manumission of our bondmen and the Christian colonization of Africa. At the time of writing this letter, the Connecticut Society for emancipating the slave was about to revise and enlarge its constitution, and Dr. Hart was deeply engaged in the project:

"August 30, 1791. I approve of your proposal of writing to the society in Scotland. But one difficulty attends it. They will probably expect that I should nominate some gentlemen for commissioners. But I know not who would best answer the end, or where a sufficient number can be found of such, who live in a vicinity, so as to be able to meet together as often as would be necessary to answer the end of their appointment. I should mention you for one; but where could others be found? I believe I shall defer writing till I hear from you again, and know what your society will do at their next meeting, and who you think of as commissioners, &c.

"I wish, if you apply for a charter, the affair of making a settlement of blacks in Africa, to civilize the nations there, and propagate Christianity among them, and the proposal to fit persons for missionaries, schoolmasters, husbandry, mechanic trades, &c., might be mentioned and included, if the members would agree in such a plan."

A still more decisive exhibition of the mode in which Hopkins united his plan for terminating slavery with his plan for sending reputable colonies to Africa, is presented in the following extract from a sermon, which he delivered before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, etc.* That sermon gives proof of the energy which its author was able to summon at the age of seventy-two. He says:

"We may hope, that all this dark and dreadful scene will not only have an end, but is designed by the Most High to be the mean of introducing the gospel among the nations in Africa; that those who have embraced the gospel, while among us, with all who have been or may be, in some good measure, civilized and instructed, will, by our assistance, return to Africa, and spread the light of the gospel in that now dark part of the world, and propagate those arts and that science which shall recover them from that ignorance and barbarity which now prevail, to be a civilized, Christian, and happy people; making as great improvement in all useful knowledge, and in the practice of righteousness, benevolence, and piety, as has yet been done by any people on earth, and much greater. Thus all this past and present evil, which the Africans have suffered by the slave trade and the slavery to which so many of them have been reduced, may be the occasion of an overbalancing good; and it may hereafter appear, as it has in the case of Joseph being sold a slave into Egypt, and the oppression and slavery of the Israelites by the Egyptians, that though the slave traders have really meant and done that which is evil, yet God has designed it all for good, the good of which all this evil shall be the

* The title of the sermon is as follows: "A Discourse upon the Slave Trade, and the Slavery of the Africans; delivered in the Baptist Meeting-house at Providence, before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, &c., at their Annual Meeting, on May 17, 1793. By Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, and Member of said Society. Printed at Providence, by J. Carter, 1793."

occasion. — Ought not this prospect to animate us earnestly to pray for such a happy event, and to exert ourselves to the utmost to promote it. Can we be indifferent and negligent in this matter, without slighting and disobeying the command of Christ, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature? And will not such an attempt to send the gospel to Africa, being willing to spare no expense or labor thus to spread the knowledge of the Saviour among the nations there, be a proper expression of our love and regard to this benevolent, important injunction?"

Nor was the preacher satisfied with this appeal; but he appended to his discourse the ensuing statement, which he spread over the length and breadth of New England.

"The proposal of assisting the blacks among us to go and make a settlement in Africa, which has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, I have thought to be of such importance, as to require a more particular explanation to be laid before the public, with the reasons for it, for their consideration; hoping that, if it be generally approved, it will excite those united, generous exertions which are necessary, in order to effect it.

"There are a considerable number of free blacks in New England, and in other parts of the United States, some of whom are industrious, and of a good moral character; and some of them appear to be truly pious, who are desirous to remove to Africa, and settle there. They who are religious would be glad to unite as Christian brethren, and move to Africa, having one instructor, or more, and cultivate the land which they may obtain there, and maintain the practice of Christianity in the sight of their now heathen brethren; and endeavor to instruct and civilize them, and spread the knowledge of the gospel among them.

"In order to effect this in the best manner, a vessel must be procured, and proper sailors provided, to go to Africa, with a number of persons, both white and black, perhaps, who shall be thought equal to the business, to search that country, and find a place where a settlement may be made with the consent of the inhabitants there; the land being given by them, or purchased of them, and so as best to answer the ends proposed. If such a place can be found, as no doubt it may, they must return, and the blacks must be collected who are willing to go and settle there, and form themselves into a civil society, by agreeing in a constitution and a code of laws, by which they will be regulated.

"And they must be furnished with every thing necessary and proper to transport and settle them there, in a safe and comfortable manner; with shipping and provisions, till they can procure them in Africa, by their own labor, and with instruments and utensils necessary to cultivate the land, build houses, &c.; and have all the protection and assistance they will need, while settling, and when settled there. And, if necessary, a number of white people must go with them; one or more, to superintend their affairs, and others to survey and lay out their lands, build mills and houses, &c. But these must not think of settling there for life; and the blacks are to be left to themselves, when they shall be able to conduct their own affairs, and need no further assistance; and be left a free, independent people.

"This appears to be the best and only plan to put the blacks among us in the most agreeable situation for themselves, and to render them most useful to their brethren in Africa, by civilizing them, and teaching them how to cultivate their lands, and spreading the knowledge of the Christian religion among them. The whites are so habituated, by education and custom, to look upon and treat the blacks as an inferior class of beings, and they are sunk so low by their situation, and the treatment they receive from us, that they never can be raised to an equality with the whites, and enjoy all the liberty and rights to which they have a just claim; or have all the encourage-

ments and motives to make improvements of every kind, which are desirable. But, if they were removed to Africa, this evil would cease, and they would enjoy all desirable equality and liberty, and live in a climate which is peculiarly suited to their constitution. And they would be under advantages to set an example of industry, and the best manner of cultivating the land, of civil life, of morality and religion, which would tend to gain the attention of the inhabitants of that country, and persuade them to receive instruction, and embrace the gospel.

"These United States are able to be at the expense of prosecuting such a plan, of which these hints are some of the outlines. And is not this the best way that can be taken to compensate the blacks, both in America and Africa, for the injuries they have received by the slave trade and slavery, and that which righteousness and benevolence must dictate? And even selfishness will be pleased with such a plan as this, and excite to exertions to carry it into effect, when the advantages of it to the public and to individuals are well considered and realized. This will gradually draw off all the blacks in New England, and even in the Middle and Southern States, as fast as they can be set free, by which this nation will be delivered from that which, in the view of every discerning man, is a great calamity, and inconsistent with the good of society; and is now really a great injury to most of the white inhabitants, especially in the Southern States.

"And by the increase and flourishing of such a plantation of free people in Africa, where all the tropical fruits and productions, and the articles which we fetch from the West Indies, may be raised in great abundance, by proper cultivation, and many other useful things procured, a commerce may take place, and be maintained, between those settlements and the United States of America, which will be of very great and increasing advantage to both.

"And this will have the greatest tendency wholly to abolish the abominable trade in human flesh, and will certainly effect it, if all other attempts prove unsuccessful.

"That such a plan is practicable, is evident from the experiment which has lately been made in forming a settlement of blacks at Sierra Leone. Above a thousand blacks were transported from Nova Scotia to that place last year; who, by the assistance of a small number of whites, and supplies from England, have formed a town and plantation, which, by the latest accounts, is now in a flourishing condition; the inhabitants living in peace and amity with the neighboring nations, and with a promising prospect of being a great advantage to them, by teaching them to cultivate their lands, and civilizing them, and showing them the advantages of peace and of industry, and trade in the productions of their country, and spreading the knowledge of Christianity among them. This will gradually put an end to the slave trade, and to slavery, in that part of the continent. And from this settlement, there is a rational prospect of a commerce, in the productions of that climate, with Britain, which will be so profitable as more than to compensate the latter for all the expense of forming and carrying it on, and will be greatly advantageous to both nations.

"There is reason to believe that a settlement may be made by the blacks now in the United States, in some part of Africa, either on the river Sierra Leone or in some other place, which will be as advantageous to those who shall settle there, and to the adjacent nations, as this which has been mentioned, and with much less expense; and which will be a greater benefit to this nation, than that may be to Britain.

"Are there not, then, motives sufficient to induce the Legislature of this nation to enter upon and prosecute this design? to form a plan, and execute it, as wisdom shall direct? And is there not reason to think that it would meet with general approbation? But if this cannot be, may not this be effected by the societies in these States, who [which] are formed with a design to promote the best good of the Africans? Would not this be answering the

end of their institution, in the best way that can be devised, and in imitation of that which has been formed in Great Britain for the same purpose?

"Is there not reason to believe, that, if such a plan was well digested, and properly laid before the public, and urged, with the reasons which offer, and a company or committee formed to conduct the affair, there might be a sum collected sufficient to carry it into effect?

"The General Court in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts did, some time ago, make a resolve to the following purpose: That when a place can be found in Africa, where the blacks in that State may settle to their advantage, they would furnish them with shipping and provisions sufficient to transport them there, and with arms sufficient to defend them, and farming utensils sufficient to cultivate their lands. If all the States in the Union, or most of them, would take the same measure, such a design might be soon and easily carried into execution. Nothing appears to be wanting but a proper, most reasonable *zeal*, in so good a cause."

The preceding document suggests the following, among other comments:

First. It is obvious that the colony which Hopkins proposed, was not to have an exclusively *missionary* character. It was to be a free and independent nation, cultivating the arts of life, and conducting a foreign commerce.

Secondly. It is equally evident, that our reformer did not intend to make the piety of the Africans an indispensable qualification for their joining his colony, at its *commencement* even. He would even *then* admit all who were "industrious and of a good moral character."

Thirdly. His scheme was self-consistent and comprehensive. To some it may appear, that his plan of sending to Africa such blacks only as would exert there a good moral influence, cannot be reconciled with his scheme of sending "*all* the blacks" in the United States to their father-land. There is, however, an entire congruity between the two proposals. He intended to transport, *first*, such colonists only as bore a good character, and such as would lay the foundations of a Christian government. When a colony had been firmly established, on religious principles, it would, in his view, exert a salutary moral influence upon our whole colored population, if they should "gradually" emigrate to it. *Then*, their emigration would be desirable, as it would be an emigration for Christian purposes, and with a prospect of maintaining Christian institutions.

Fourthly. Our philanthropist cannot be accused of any want of sympathy with his colored brethren, in his proposing their removal to their father-land. He had no desire to *force* them from our shores, for our own comfort or convenience. He did not favor their removal against their will. It was their good which prompted his efforts. He had a profound conviction, that they never would be so happy among us, as they could be in an independent nation by themselves; that their physical condition would be improved by returning to the climate of their ancestors; that their mental, and, above all,

their spiritual welfare required a government especially adapted to them. For a quarter of a century, he had lived in the neighborhood of the Stockbridge Indians, and had seen the difficulty of persuading the superior race to treat the inferior with a becoming friendliness. Of course he blamed the prevalent disposition to injure the weaker classes. But he looked upon the disposition as an existing fact, and he therefore devised means for avoiding its influence.

Fifthly. Whether Hopkins were right or wrong in his colonization scheme, (and this is no place for expressing an opinion on the subject,) he was in advance of his age. In the year 1850–1, many of the most eminent citizens of Rhode Island presented a petition to Congress, in favor of transporting to Africa, at the national expense, such negroes as may desire to emigrate thither. Perhaps not one of these petitioners was aware that, fifty-eight years before they made their proposal, substantially the same plan had been published to the world by a Newport pastor. These petitioners requested that, as the Colonization Society could not remove all the blacks who might wish to change their residence, the national government would lend its aid. Hopkins had proposed, more than a half century before, that the national government should be at the expense of the transportation; or, if this aid could not be procured, that a *company* should be formed to superintend the removal. This "company" would be, in fact, a colonization society, conducted on such principles as Granville Sharp and Wilberforce would approve; on such principles as would secure a preponderating religious influence.

Twenty years after his first public movement in favor of the Africans, Hopkins addressed the following letter to Dr. Hart:

"July 29, 1793. Bristol Yamma is out of health, and can do little or no business. He has been advised to go into a warmer climate, supposing it would conduce to his health. There is a prospect of an opportunity for him to go to Sierra Leone next fall, and spend the winter there. There is a gentleman in this town who has lately come from that place, and informs me that the settlement of blacks on that river, about eight miles above the mouth of the river, called Freetown, goes on with success and agreeable prospects; that eleven hundred blacks or more are settled there, and within a year have cleared a large quantity of land, and done a surprising deal of work; that they are all contented and pleased and healthy, — appear sober and pious, meeting morning and evening for prayers, &c. They have a Governor from England, and several other gentlemen to take care of the affairs of the settlement, who are upright, benevolent men, and very friendly to the blacks, treating them upon an equality with themselves. They are preparing to raise sugar-cane, coffee, &c. He says he is acquainted with that river and the adjacent country, having lived there many years; that he doubts not land may be had in those parts for any number to settle upon, who should be inclined to go from America. If Bristol could go, (and it would be desirable that one more, at least, should go with him,) he might promote the design of a proposed settlement, by getting acquainted with the country and inhabitants, and perhaps finding a place where a settlement may be made, and on what terms land may be had. This cannot be done without some money. I will give fifty dollars toward it, if it can be carried into effect. Perhaps, if the plan and proposal

should be laid before the Connecticut Abolition Society, at their next meeting at New Haven, or communicated to individuals who are most likely to forward the matter, money might be obtained for that end. — Such a settlement, promoted by the Americans, would not only tend to the good of the Africans, but would, in time, be a source of a profitable trade to America, instead of the West India trade, which will probably fail more and more, as the curse of Heaven seems to be coming on those islands, where the slavery of the Africans, in all the horrors of it, has been practised so long."

Now, in his seventy-third year, our reformer is as eager as he had been to communicate, as well as to receive, information in reference to his favorite scheme. He writes to Dr. Hart:

"October 31, at night, 1793. Reverend and Dear Sir: All the information I can give respecting the men of [whom] Bristol spoke to you, is the following: A white man, about sixty years old, and a black, called upon me, and said they came from Saint Croix, a Danish island. The black was a native of that island, a free man, and a Moravian. He spoke good English, and is a man of property. He says there are five thousand free blacks in that island. The white comes from Denmark. He speaks English badly, and talks so fast that I could not understand a great part of what he said. But I collected the following from him:

"The king of the Danes has lately made a [purchase] of land in Guinea, lying in the fifth degree of north latitude, of eighty miles square, on which he proposes to make a settlement of blacks only. The whites, who accompany them, to protect and assist them in forming a settlement, a civil government, &c., are to have no land, but leave the country to the blacks as soon as they have answered the end for which they are to be sent. They are to raise the productions of that climate, and Denmark is to have the monopoly of their trade, as the only compensation. — This gentleman represents himself as sent by the king of Denmark to go and view said tract of land, and see whether a settlement can be made upon it, and where, or in what part of it, &c. The black is going with him. They have hired a vessel, at Providence, to carry them to Guinea, for which he gives five hundred dollars. They have both engaged to send me information of their success. The white man appears to be a Lutheran; but says Christians of all denominations will be allowed to settle there; — that there are seven whites and blacks already gone there, whom they expect to find on the spot. On the whole, the affair has a romantic appearance, and I suspect will come to nothing. The appearance of the white man is not promising; and it is rather improbable that such a man should be sent by his Danish majesty on such business; but time will bring forth."

At length, June 9, 1794, this tenacious man communicates a discouraging fact to Dr. Hart:

"I have got no farther information respecting the settlement of the blacks at Sierra Leone. When at Providence, I inquired after the black, who, I heard, came from that place, but could get no information. I believe the story was magnified. The Abolition Society were to take the matter into consideration, at their meeting in May. But [I] have not heard what they did; — believe they did nothing. The Friends are always backward in promoting such settlement, and are the most active members, and nothing can be done without them. Bristol Yamma is dead! He died last January, in North Carolina."

But although the prospects of our philanthropist were dark in his own country, he continued to enjoy the sympathies of his fellow-

laborers in England. We find that at this period he was engaged in a correspondence with Zachary Macaulay, so highly celebrated as editor of the Christian Observer, as the companion of Scott, Newton, and Wilberforce, and more recently as the father of the historian, Thomas Babington Macaulay. The correspondence is valuable, as it shows the care which both Macaulay and Hopkins took, in selecting worthy emigrants for the new settlement on the African coast. It corroborates the preceding assertion, that the colonization which Hopkins favored was not, in its early stages, to be *promiscuous*, but *select;* not limited, however, to the strictly pious Africans, but including also those who were apparently favorable to religion. Two of Mr. Macaulay's letters are here inserted, for the sake of illustrating the kind of missionary colonization in which Hopkins was engaged.

"Freetown, Sierra Leone, 19 March, 1795. Reverend Sir: We refer you to the enclosed paper, marked No. 1, for an explanation of the reasons which have induced us at this time to trouble you. We have considered it as a sufficient ground on which to solicit your good offices, that you are interested in the cause of humanity, and that you are zealous in the service of Christ. Believing, therefore, that you will regard no task as a burden which gives you an opportunity of manifesting these dispositions, we address you on the present occasion, with the full assurance that you will be favorable to our views, and that you will spare no pains in fulfilling them.

"You already know, that several families of people of color, belonging to Providence, have joined in making an application to us for a settlement at Sierra Leone; and though we be by no means desirous of an accession of colonists, yet their application has been so urgent, that we have been induced to comply with it. The number to be received is, however, limited to twelve families; and on perusing the conditions, you will see that even these are not to be received, unless they present satisfactory testimonials of their moral character, signed by you and another clergyman, and by the President of the Abolition Society.

"The difficulties which have already arisen, in forming this settlement, from the injudicious admission of persons of doubtful character, have led us to guard more carefully against a similar evil in the present instance. These difficulties have arisen, either from fallacious notions of civil rights, (a thing not to be wondered at in emancipated slaves,) from extreme vehemence of temper, or from low, confused and imperfect ideas of moral rectitude. The first of these may, no doubt, be corrected by enlightening their minds; the second may be curbed by wholesome laws; and the last may be amended and improved by the preaching of the gospel: but we should be much better pleased to have an accession of colonists who would strengthen our hands in accomplishing these purposes, than of men who would furnish us with additional employment in that way.

"There is another evil, however, which we fear may prevail among those with whom the present application has originated, and which we wish to guard against with more care than even against these. We mean the evil of speculative infidelity. From general circumstances which have passed under our observation, we are led to judge, that the poison of the 'Age of Reason'* may have pervaded even this class of men. Now, we trust you will agree with us, in thinking that the introduction of one such unbeliever into a

* It may here be mentioned, that the author of the "Age of Reason" had been actively engaged in behalf of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

colony founded for the express purpose of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of a Saviour, might prove an evil beyond all calculation. We are not such bigots as to require subscription to creeds and articles; nor are we such latitudinarians, as to be willingly accessory to admitting into the colony one person who has *learned* to treat religion with contempt. However great the usefulness of such people might be in other respects, we should conceive ourselves to be more essentially serving the cause of God, by forming a colony of the blindest of those blind people who now inhabit this land. We do not look for characters of eminent piety, but we would expect a sober demeanor, good intentions, and a disposition favorable to religion. Without these, no man can make a good member of any community; much less of one established expressly for the purpose of preaching to Africa the acceptable year of the Lord. What we have, then, particularly to request of you, sir, is, that you would refuse your signature to any person's certificate with whom you have not reason to be satisfied in this respect, as well as in every other. Religion is not, indeed, expressly mentioned in the conditions, as necessary to form a part of their character who migrate hither; but as we think you will agree with us in opinion, that none can with propriety be entitled to the denomination of moral, of whose characters religion does not form the basis, the omission is of no moment.

"We have written on this subject to you alone; but we beg of you to communicate our sentiments to the Chairman of the Abolition Society, and to any other clergyman you may think proper to associate with you.

"We enclose a paper, No. 2, which will give you some notion of the extent to which the slave trade is carried on in our neighborhood by Americans. We hoped that the act of your Congress would have effectually abolished it; but we find, on the contrary, that it has considerably increased since the time of the passing of that act. Had we had time, we should have sent you, by this opportunity, a sketch of the history and nature of this settlement, but we shall embrace an early opportunity of doing it. We think it right to say, that the behavior of Mr. James MacKenzie, as far as we have had the means of observing it, has been proper and becoming.

"Requesting your pardon for the liberty we have now presumed to take, and wishing you continued and increasing health and happiness,

"We remain, reverend sir, your very faithful and obedient servants,

ZACHARY MACAULAY, Acting Governor.
JAMES WATT, Councillor P. S.

"Rev. Mr. Hopkins, Providence, Rhode Island."

"Freetown, October 20, 1796. Dear Sir: On my return from England in March last, I was favored with your much esteemed letter of the ninth [of] September, 1795, and had also an opportunity of seeing your obliging communications to the Governor and Council. In their name, I beg to make the heartiest acknowledgments for the attention you was pleased to pay to their requests. They feel themselves particularly indebted to you, for the considerateness with which you withheld your recommendation from persons who might otherwise have caused them much trouble; a circumstance, which will lead them to receive with much regard any recommendation which, at any future period, you may be induced to make them.

"I beg now to return you my best thanks for the pleasure afforded me by your letter, as well as by the tracts accompanying it. I have perused them with profit, and have only to regret, that an oversight of Captain Benson's, should have deprived me of the satisfaction of perusing some more bulky productions of the same pen. During my late visit to Europe, I had an opportunity of passing some time at Edinburgh. My very excellent and venerable friend, Dr. Erskine, communicated to me the substance of the interesting account you give of your labors in behalf of this benighted land. It is to be regretted, that they should have hitherto proved so fruitless. We may, however, regard that and every similar effort that has been made, however to our

view they may have appeared vain, as silently operating in producing that striking and unexampled eagerness, with which the Christian world in Europe is now pursuing the benevolent object of evangelizing the heathen. During my short stay at home, I had the satisfaction of seeing a mission undertaken by the Baptists to India, and another to Africa, one undertaken by the Wesleyan Methodists to the interior of the same country, and one put in a fair way of being undertaken by the Moravians. A society for missions had also been formed, which embraced all sects of Evangelical Pedo-Baptists, to the funds of which £10,000 sterling had been subscribed, whose object, in the first instance, is the South Sea Islands. It is with some concern I add, that the Methodist mission to this country has entirely failed, through the unfitness of the instruments, and that the Baptist mission near us languishes from the same cause.

"One of my objects in visiting Edinburgh was, to procure some pious men to accompany me on my return, as servants of the Company; and in this I succeeded to my wish. I was so fortunate as to meet with a young man of the name of Clarke, who, possessed of great gifts, was also possessed of uncommon piety, and embraced with gladness an offer of the chaplaincy here, in the hope of an opportunity of doing good. He has, since his arrival, formed a church, as far as circumstances admit, on the Presbyterian plan, (though we banish names: — here we are not Presbyterians, but Christians,) and there is a prospect of his doing much good. His usefulness has indeed been much marred, by a number of would-be preachers, who started up among the people, while they were without any regular instructor, and who find the continuance of their influence so much involved in Mr. Clarke's success, that they use every effort to cause dissensions and maintain a party spirit. We may regard even that unpleasant circumstance as, in some measure, a token for good. If Satan be busy, we may judge he trembles for his kingdom.

"You have a copy, if I am not mistaken, of the conditions on which I agreed with MacKenzie to receive free blacks. Should the people around you be disposed to give the requisite assistance to a few families who might wish to migrate, and whom you could safely recommend, they would be received on the same terms.

"I have the pleasure of enclosing a printed report of the progress of our colony, till the time of its devastation by the French. Almost all the facts are detailed from my own actual observation. I understand from Captain Benson, that a very unfavorable report respecting my conduct at that time has reached America. Misrepresentation is a part of that cross which, so very peculiarly situated as I am, I must be content to bear. The report to which I allude, took its rise from the ill will of a shipmaster bound hence to Jamaica, whom I had forced to perform an act of common humanity to some seamen in distress, and was eagerly retailed by the people of Jamaica, to whom, from a residence of six years in that island, I am well known, and who, regarding me, with some justice, as an apostate from their party, gladly seize every opportunity of marking their dislike.

"I shall not fail to send you the continuation of the printed reports, as they make their appearance. In the mean time, you will like to hear that our schools thrive, under the superintendence of Mr. Clarke, to a degree I could hardly have expected. For particulars respecting them and many other points, I must refer you to Captain Benson, whose representations I should expect (if not from partiality a little too highly colored) would be very fair.

"You will be sorry to learn that, during the last year, the number of American slave traders on the coast has increased to an unprecedented degree. Were it not for their pertinacious adherence to that abominable traffic, it would, in consequence of the war, have been almost wholly abolished in our neighborhood. By letters from my excellent friends, Messrs. Wilberforce and Thornton, whose names I dare say are not unknown on your side of the water, I find that, nothing daunted by their frequent defeats, they mean to pursue without any relaxation their measures for a total abolition. The

question was lost, in March last, only by a majority of four, and that not till the last reading.

"The continuation of your correspondence will be highly gratifying to me, and I shall have pleasure in writing to you, from time to time, on such topics as from this far country will be likely to interest you.

"Dr. Hopkins,* Dr. Erskine, and the Rev. John Newton, have severally told me that, were they young, they should strongly desire to migrate to Sierra Leone. Their actual presence is a happiness which we dare not expect; but we feel ground for indulging a hope that their hearts are with us, and that they sometimes breathe out a prayer in our behalf to Him whose blessing can alone make our work prosper. That he may bestow on you, sir, the best of blessings, is the warmest prayer of your faithful friend and obliged and humble servant, ZACHARY MACAULAY.

"P. S. I send, herewith, a number of little tracts, which are published monthly in England, chiefly by my valuable friend Mrs. Hannah More. Their object is, to supplant licentious and seditious ballads and pamphlets, by affording amusement to the common people, at an equally cheap rate, or at a cheaper rate than those pernicious writings are sold at; whereby people may be surprised, as it were, into some profitable reading. The success of the tracts has been truly astonishing. The plan began only in March, 1795, and before last March, two millions of tracts had been sold."

We have already seen that two, of the first three candidates for the African mission, died before their education was completed.† Still, the projector of that mission clung to it; and as late as 1799, when he was about eighty years of age, and had been laboring twenty-six years in its behalf, he writes in the last book which he ever published:‡

"It may here be added, that the way to this proposed mission yet lies open; and the importance of it and the encouragement to it are as great as ever. All that is wanted is money, exertion, and missionaries to undertake it. There are religious blacks to be found, who understand the language of the nations in those parts, who might be improved, if properly encouraged. And if they were brought to embrace Christianity, and to be civilized, it would put a stop to the slave trade, and render them happy. And it would open a door for a trade which would be for the temporal interest of both Americans and Africans. As attention to sending the gospel to the heathen appears to be now spreading and increasing in America, it is hoped that the eyes of many will be opened to see the peculiar obligations they are under to attempt to send the gospel to the Africans, whom we have injured and abused so greatly, even more than any other people under heaven; it being the best and the only compensation we can make."

In none of his letters, even to his most confidential friends, does Hopkins intimate, that his original views of an African settlement, or

* Was there a Dr. Hopkins of England, who had seen Mr. Macaulay, and "*told*" him what is here asserted? Or does Mr. Macaulay speak of Dr. Hopkins of America, as having *written* to him what is here stated? It was common, especially in that day, to allude in the third person to the individual addressed; but Mr. Macaulay, in the preceding letter, does not address the Rhode Island pastor as *Dr.*, but as "*Mr.* Hopkins."

† John Quamine had lost his life in the revolutionary war. Dr. Patten says, (Reminiscences, pp. 86, 87,) that he "entered on board a privateer, with the desire not only to support in this way the cause of the army, but to obtain money to purchase the freedom of his wife; but he was slain in the first battle."

‡ Memoirs of Mrs. Osborn, pp. 78, 79.

even of an African mission, had been modified by any other coloni zation movement. He records no change of plan between the year 1773 and the year 1799. That the lapse of time may have matured his scheme, we do not deny; but we can find no evidence of his having essentially altered it. This is certainly remarkable, and is one among other proofs, that his sagacious mind foresaw, from the first, that John Quamine and Salmar Nubia were to be trained as pioneers, not for churches only, but for commercial cities and extensive colonies also. He manifests no surprise at the schemes of Granville Sharp, but cordially unites in them, as long familiar to his mind.

Sect. XXXVII. NEWPORT GARDNER.

Many results of our philanthropist's labors were intangible. Not all of them, however. Salmar Nubia and Newport Gardner were a connecting link between the missionary colonization scheme of Dr. Hopkins and the more indiscriminate colonization scheme of the present day. Both of these men were introduced to our notice by Mr. Hopkins, on p. 136, above. One of them, Newport, was a man of mark. "He was brought to this country as a slave, in 1760, when about fourteen years of age. He early discovered to his owner very superior powers of mind. He *taught himself* to read, after receiving a few lessons on the elements of written language. He *taught himself* to sing, after receiving a very trivial initiation into the rudiments of music. He became so well acquainted with the science and art of music, that he composed a large number of tunes, (some of which have been highly approved by musical amateurs,) and was for a long time the teacher of a very numerously attended singing school in Newport. He retained a knowledge of his mother tongue, so that he could speak it fluently in his eightieth year." * "A long time after he came to this country, he distinguished, among a cargo of slaves, two individuals, whom he instantly addressed in their own language, and reminded them of his having previously met them in their own land. In his person he was tall, straight, and well formed; in his manners, he was dignified and unassuming." † Mr. Hopkins

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 90. Dr. Hitchcock writes: "Newport Gardner used to say to me, [between the years 1815 and 1820,] that he was very careful to cultivate his recollection of his African tongue, so that in case Providence *should* open a way, he might return to Africa, and find a people with whom he might converse intelligibly, and to whom he might communicate the great truths of the gospel."—MS. Letter.

† MS. Letter of Mr. Ferguson. Dr. Hitchcock writes: "Newport often repeated this maxim: 'If you wish to do good to our people, you must keep us in our place. You must not flatter us.' I have often heard him pray. He never failed to plead for Africa, confessing the justice of God in her miseries, owing to her sins, especially 'in worshipping trees, and streams, and fountains of water, and reptiles.'"—MS. Letter. Such humility in a slave who was honored so much as Newport, is a proof of his superior endowments.

originated and encouraged the design of Newport's obtaining his freedom, and returning a missionary to his own country. In a letter to Dr. Hart, apprising him of "two remarkable events," Mr. Hopkins says: "April 27, 1791. The other event is, ten blacks in this town joined to purchase a ticket in the semi-annual lottery in Boston, which has drawn a prize of two thousand dollars. One of them belongs to our church, and is of a good character, — the best that I know among the blacks, except Bristol Yamma. He is a slave. — It is hoped that by this event he will obtain his freedom." That slave was Newport, and he at once renewed his old application for the purchase of his liberty. But he had not money enough to buy his own freedom and also that of his wife and children. He therefore "was allowed to labor for his own profit, during whatever time he might gain by extra diligence. The slave devoted all this *gained* time to procuring the means of liberating himself and family. He was finally advised, by a deacon of Mr. Hopkins's church, to spend this time in *fasting and prayer* for his liberation, and he was assured of more rapid success in this course than in that of manual labor. Accordingly, having gained a day, this pious negro, without communicating his plan to any but Mr. Hopkins, and two or three Christian friends, spent that day in secret fasting and prayer that he might obtain his freedom. His master, totally ignorant of his slave's occupation, sent for him about four o'clock in the afternoon; but was told that 'Newport was engaged for himself, this being his *gained* day.' 'No matter — call him,' says Captain Gardner. After some hesitation, the slave was called, and the owner gave him a paper, on which was written, — 'I, Caleb Gardner, of Newport, Rhode Island, do this day manumit and release forever Newport Gardner, his wife, and children," &c., &c.; adding some conditions which could be easily complied with. The slave received his manumission with gratitude to his owner, but with still deeper gratitude to his all-wise Disposer above, who had signally answered his request for freedom, *even before he had finished his supplication.*" *

The desire which his pastor had enkindled in his bosom to revisit his native land, for the sake of carrying thither the institutions of the gospel, never died away. Both he and Salmar Nubia † "continued, through life, with their faces turned toward their home,

* Slightly altered from Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 184, 185. Dr. Alexander, describing this mode of Newport's liberation, says: "If it were not so well authenticated, we should hesitate to mention it; as, to some of our readers, it may probably savor too much of enthusiasm. But in fact, it is nothing else than an evident, and somewhat extraordinary answer to prayer." History of African Colonization, p. 57. The account rests on the authority of Colonel Vinson, Dr. Tenney, Mr. Ferguson, and others.

† This man, a member of Dr. Stiles's church in Newport, was a subscriber for the first edition of Hopkins's System of Divinity; and his name is spelled Solmar Nubia in the published list of the original subscribers' names. It is spelled, in some of Hopkins's letters, Solmar Numa; and in the census of Liberia for 1843, it is spelled John Nubia.

and when the favorable moment came, they joyfully embarked for Africa. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of December, 1825, they and sixteen others were constituted a church in the city of Boston. Drs. Jenks, S. E. Dwight, Wisner, Justin Edwards, and Rev. Samuel Green, conducted the exercises of the evening. The church made a unanimous choice of Newport Gardner and John Salmar Nubia for deacons;" Rev. Samuel Green offered the consecrating prayer for the two newly-elected officers, and at the conclusion of the service an anthem was sung, which was "composed by Deacon Gardner, and by him set to the following words of his own selection and adaptation:"

"The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying: Write thou all the words which I have spoken unto thee in a book. For lo! the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it. Therefore, fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord; neither be dismayed, O Israel; for lo! I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from their captivity, and Jacob shall return and be in rest and quiet, and none shall make him afraid. Amen. Hear the words of the Lord, O ye African race, hear the words of promise. But it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs. Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table. O African, trust in the Lord. Amen. Hallelujah. Praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord. Hallelujah. Amen."

On the 4th of January, 1826, the church sailed for Liberia, in the brig Vine, from Boston. There were thirty-two colored emigrants on board, all of them from Rhode Island. To the spectators of the embarkation it appeared singular, that two men so old as these two deacons, should venture to become pioneers of an infant colony, on a sickly coast. But this had been their ruling passion. There had been an influence upon them which the world knew not. They had sat by the fireside of Hopkins's narrow study, and had there nourished their missionary spirit, a half century before it was developed in their missionary life.* So permanent is human influence. The two deacons arrived at Monrovia, February 6, 1826, and after a rapid decline, died, about six months after their arrival. Newport Gardner was about eighty, and Salmar Nubia about seventy years of age, at the time of their decease.

* Somewhat altered from Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 90, 91, 185, 186. The author of the "New Republic," speaking of the emigrants in the Vine, says, p. 101: "One aged black was among the number, who seemed to be filled with almost youthful enthusiasm for the cause. 'I go,' he exclaimed, 'to set an example to the youth of my race. I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it sixty years — it is in vain. Could I by my example lead them to set sail, and I die the next day, I should be satisfied.'"

Sect. XXXVIII. CHURCH ACTION IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

It has been said that the church of Mr. Hopkins, at Newport, was the first in the world which prohibited its members from purchasing or owning slaves. It must be remembered, however, that the Quakers of England, as early as 1761, voted to exclude from their communion all who should engage in the slave traffic;* and in 1776, the Quakers of Pennsylvania voted to exclude all owners of slaves who "refused to execute the proper instruments for giving them their freedom."† When it is said, then, that Mr. Hopkins's church preceded all others in expressing its intolerance of slavery, we must not include the Friends. It is remarkable that as early as 1781, while yet in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, our reformer proposed some ecclesiastical action on the subject, and induced one of his most estimable and prominent church-members to pledge himself, that, at the time of his death, he would manumit his only remaining slave. In Hopkins's firm chirography, the following votes now stand on the Church Records.

"At a meeting of the church, January 30, 1784, it was, Voted:

"1. That whereas Deacon Coggeshall did, more than two years ago, promise before the church that he would secure the freedom of his black girl, Sarah, that she should be free upon his decease, it is the opinion of this church that he ought, without delay, to deliver to us a paper, properly authenticated, securing to said girl her freedom, as above said.

"2. That Captain Hammond and Mr. Nichols be desired to let Deacon Coggeshall know of the above vote, and desire him to comply with it, without delay."

"At a meeting of the church, March 5, 1784, Voted: That as Deacon Coggeshall has delivered to Mr. Samuel Vinson a paper, in which he has secured the freedom of the above-said Sarah, and it has been read before the church, they are satisfied with respect to that matter, and that Mr. Vinson be desired to keep said paper, until he shall receive further direction from the church respecting it."

"At the same meeting, Voted: That the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans, as it has taken place among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel; and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church."

From these votes, it may be, as it has been inferred, that if a member of the church, already owning slaves, would give a written

* In 1727, this estimable body first warned its members against being concerned in the trade.

† Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, p. 106. From this work, and from Copley's History of Slavery, have been gleaned many of the facts communicated in these sections.

pledge to liberate them at a future time, that member need not be disciplined for retaining his slaves in bondage until that time; but he would be disciplined if he should purchase a new slave; and no man would be allowed to enter the church, either from the world or from other churches, unless he first emancipated his bondmen. These votes indicate the determined spirit of Mr. Hopkins, and at the same time his kindly, considerate temper. He was as far from fanaticism, as from attachment to old abuses.

Sect. XXXIX. THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND THE SLAVE INTEREST.

What were the views of an abolitionist like Hopkins, in regard to the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States? In a letter to Moses Brown, dated October 22, 1787, about one month after the delegates had agreed on the Federal Constitution, Mr. Hopkins says:

"My Kind Friend: . . . . . I am hurt by the doings of the Convention respecting the slave trade. It is as you suppose. They have carefully secured the practice of it in these States for twenty years, and prevented any asylum for slaves during that term, unless every individual State should suppress the trade. They have taken it out of the hands of Congress. We cannot determine, that the major part of the delegates were pleased with this. Some of the southern delegates, no doubt, insisted upon it, that the introduction of slaves should be secured, and obstinately refused to conform to any constitution which did not secure it. The others, therefore, consented, rather than have no constitution, or one in which the delegates should not be unanimous. I fear this is an *Achan*, which will bring a curse, so that we cannot prosper. At the same time, it appears to me that if this Constitution be not adopted by the States, as it now stands, we shall have none, and nothing but anarchy and confusion may be expected. I must leave it with the Supreme Ruler of the universe, who will do right, and knows what to do with these States, to answer his own infinitely wise purposes; and will vindicate the oppressed, and break the arm of the oppressor, in his own way and time, and cause the wrath of man to praise him."

To Dr. Hart, of Preston. — "January 29, 1788. Dear Sir: I thank you for your exertions with regard to the slave trade. I should have been glad to be informed whether what was reported to Mr. Brown be true; viz., that they are going into this trade at Middletown and Norwich. I hear they threaten to carry it on here and at Providence yet, but question whether they will do it, as they will expose themselves so much by it. The new Constitution, you observe, guarantees this trade for twenty years. I fear, if it be adopted, this will prove an Achan in our camp. How does it appear in the sight of Heaven, and of all good men, well informed, that *these States*, who have been fighting for liberty, and consider themselves as the highest and most noble example of zeal for it, cannot agree in any political constitution, unless it indulge and authorize them to enslave their fellow-men! I think if this Constitution be not adopted as it is, without any alteration, we shall have none, and shall be in a state of anarchy, and probably of civil war. Therefore I wish to have it adopted; but still, as I said, *I fear*. And perhaps civil war will not be avoided, if it be adopted. Ah! these unclean spirits, like frogs. They, like the Furies of the poets, are spreading discord and exciting men to contention and war, wherever they go; and they can spoil the best constitu-

tion that can be formed. When Congress shall be formed on the new plan, these frogs will be there; for they go forth to the kings of the earth, in the first place. They will turn the members of that august body into devils, so far as they are permitted to influence them. Have they not already got possession of most of the men, who will or can be chosen and appointed to a place in that assembly? I suppose that even good Christians are not out of the reach of influence from these frogs. 'Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments.'" *

Decidedly as Hopkins opposed some parts of the Constitution, he was yet earnestly in favor of adopting it, and he evidently thought that, after its adoption, it should be obeyed, actively or passively, in all its requirements. He would shut the door, not against amendment, but against forcible resistance. He deemed the loss of the Constitution, as a whole, to be a greater evil, than the retention of those articles which he so much disapproved. He believed that when the advocates of freedom could not do as well as they would, they should do as well as they could. He therefore urged the reluctant Rhode Islanders to come into the Federal Compact. In a letter dated July 29, 1788, he writes:

"Some of our politicians, who are Federal, choose that the new Constitution should not be adopted by this State; as they wish for the supposed consequence of not doing it, viz., that the State will be divided, and part annexed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the other part to Connecticut. Rhode Island is to join the former, and Connecticut is to have NARRAGANSET!"

Often, throughout his correspondence, he expresses his attachment to our Constitution, and alludes in reverential terms to those who first administered it. He was a great admirer of Washington, and trained his family to support the Washingtonian principles of government.

SECT. XL. RELATIVE POSITION OF HOPKINS AMONG THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

No great change of public morals is effected by a single individual. There are always "reformers before the reformation." It is useful to learn the exact relation of Hopkins to other friends of the slave, and the degree in which he was distinguished above them,

* This is indeed strong language; not so strong, however, as that used by many companions of Hopkins in the movement against slavery; not by any means so strong as that used nineteen days before, by Granville Sharp, in a letter to Benjamin Franklin: "Having been always zealous," writes Mr. Sharp, (Memoir, p. 253,) "for the honor of free governments, I am the more sincerely grieved to see the new Federal Constitution stained by the insertion of two most exceptionable clauses of the kind above mentioned; the one in direct opposition to a most humane article, ordained by the first American Congress to be perpetually observed; and the other in equal opposition to an express command of the Almighty, 'not to deliver up the servant that has escaped from his master,' &c. Both clauses, however, (the ninth section of the first article, and the latter part of the second section of the third article,) are so clearly null and void by their iniquity, that it would be even a *crime* to regard them as law."

or in which they surpassed him. By no means was he the first who opposed the system of African slavery. As early as 1640, that system had been condemned by Cardinal Ximenes, Charles V., Leo X., Queen Elizabeth, and Louis XIII.; and before the year 1770, it had been written against in Europe, by Rev. Morgan Godwyn, Richard Baxter, Thomas Tryon, George Fox, Thomas Southern, Primatt, Montesquieu, Hutcheson, James Foster, Sir Richard Steele, Atkins, Wallis, Rev. Griffith Hughes, Hayter, Postlethwaite, Jeffery, Sterne, Rousseau, Bishop Warburton, Granville Sharp; and in America, by Whitefield, Judge Sewall, William Burling, Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, Anthony Benezet.* The English poets, also, such as Milton, Pope, Thomson, Savage, Shenstone, Dyer, wrote in harmony with the free genius of song, and excited a detestation of the African bondage. The English Quakers, as a body, condemned the slave trade in public resolutions, passed in 1727, 1758, 1761, and 1763. The Quakers of Pennsylvania condemned it in their meetings of 1696, 1711, and 1754. The greater part of all which had been published as early as 1770, was against the traffic in slaves; but we have seen that Hopkins, about the year 1770, preached not against the traffic only, but also against all property in slaves;† and as early, at least, as 1773, he projected his African mission, with the design of preventing the slave trade;

* This beneficent man, whom Granville Sharp declared to be "unhappily involved in the errors of Quakerism," wrote an anti-slavery letter to Mr. Sharp, which was received June 22, 1772, the very day of Sharp's triumph in the noted Somerset case. In 1767, one of Benezet's works on slavery was republished in England by Mr. Sharp; and in 1769, one of Sharp's works on slavery was republished (in an abridged form) in America, by Mr. Benezet. It was this same Anthony Benezet, whose "Historical Account of Guinea" gave such timely aid to Clarkson, in 1785. Benezet published his first large work on slavery, in 1762, but had previously written smaller works for the press on the same theme. He thus made a public avowal of his opinions previously to the time of Hopkins's Circular and Dialogue. He was more active in political circles than Hopkins. But he was less profound in his discussions, and had less influence over the clergy.

† That Hopkins preached against slavery about the year 1770, is evident from the following facts. Many of his old parishioners have said, that he thus preached soon after he went to Newport, July 21, 1769, and before he started his plan for an African mission; certainly, then, before April, 1773. He himself informed Granville Sharp, that he preached against the *trade* soon after his removal to Newport; and against *slavery* itself, soon after he had opposed the *trade*; and that when he thus preached, he "was, so far as [he] then knew, almost alone in [his] opposition to this trade and to the slavery of the Africans:" see p. 140, above. It should seem, then, that he must have delivered these sermons before the year 1772; for on the first of April, in that year, the Virginia House of Burgesses petitioned the king against the importation of slaves into their colony; and on the fourteenth of May, Anthony Benezet wrote, that in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New England, there was a strong public sentiment against the slave system; (see Hoare's Memoir of Granville Sharp, Esq.) Now, can it be, that a man so proverbially inquisitive as Hopkins, did not know of these political movements, when they were made? And if he did know of them, he must have stood up almost alone against slavery *before* their occurrence, *i. e.*, before the spring of 1772. He had probably heard of the anti-slavery discussions which commenced at Boston in 1766, and continued intermittently until the revolution; but which seem to have been confined to political circles, and to have promised no immediate results of great moment.

and he published a forcible argument against the whole slave system, in 1776. He openly denounced the entire scheme, then, before Benjamin Rush printed his first pamphlet against it, in 1773; and before Dr. Beattie and John Wesley made their open opposition to it. He even printed his Dialogue as early as Adam Smith and Professor Millar printed their works in which slavery was condemned, and before a single page had been written on the subject by Dr. Robertson, Abbé Raynal, Dr. Paley, Bishop Porteus, James Ramsay, who first appeared as an anti-slavery author, in 1785, and Thomas Clarkson, who wrote his first Essay on the theme in Latin, in 1785, and published it in English, in 1786. Granville Sharp became interested in the subject by an accident, in 1765, and he published his first work against the evil, in 1769, and triumphed in the Somerset case, in 1772. He thus preceded Hopkins as a conspicuous friend of the slave. But neither he nor any other man had, in 1776, written on the theme so forcibly and fundamentally, and at the same time so religiously, as this Rhode Island pastor. Unless we include, then, a a few estimable preachers among the Society of Friends, Hopkins was the first of the American divines, who published an effective remonstrance against the claiming of property in slaves. He was the ablest of all writers, English or American, who opposed the slave system on strictly religious grounds, as early as 1776. He also subjected himself to more of personal suffering, than did the great majority of those who assailed the slave system. He set himself against the habits and pecuniary income, of the men on whom he relied for his daily bread. He sacrificed property and immediate reputation.* He was ridiculed and hated by many of his townsmen. But he threw over himself, and over his cause, the mantle of religion. He allied himself with Jehovah. In reply to the taunts of his fellow-citizens, he often predicted, that "God would frown upon Newport;" that "the judgments of Heaven would hang over its dwellings;" and a large number of his friends, who saw the grass growing in the streets of that beautiful town, for many years after these predictions, associated the desolate appearance of the place with the vaticinations of that troubled old pastor. His earnest words exerted a prolonged influence on the mind of the youthful Channing; and this influence was developed fifty years after it was first exerted. That sedate youth often met at his father's table the old apostle of freedom; and "it was from him that [Channing] first gained his convictions of the iniquity of slavery." †

How far Hopkins preceded other men, and how far they preceded him, in forming societies for the abolition of slavery, and in

* See pp. 94, 110, 116, 119–126, etc., of the present Memoir.
† Channing's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 32.

ecclesiastical action with regard to it, has been detailed on pages 125, 126, and 157 of this Memoir. His preeminence over his brethren is more conspicuous in his scheme for *evangelizing* Africa.

On the 19th of January, 1481, the Portuguese missionaries celebrated their first mass in Guinea. As far as can be ascertained, the French commenced an African mission, in 1635; the Spanish, in 1652; the Moravians, in 1736; and the British, in 1751. "The first *American* who is known to have attempted any thing for the conversion of Africa, was" Dr. Hopkins.* He may have heard, for he was inquisitive on missionary themes, of Rev. Thomas Thompson, who was the first, but not very consistent English missionary in Africa,† and who had previously labored five years in New Jersey. Be that as it may, for about thirty years, Hopkins was strenuous in his exertions to wake up the missionary spirit in behalf of the negro race. In about twelve years from the date of his last communication on the theme, a spirit of missions was extensively developed in behalf of all the heathen races, and the sons of two of his disciples had consecrated themselves to the foreign enterprise. Is it at all improbable, that his extensive correspondence on the African mission, had predisposed the hearts of many in favor of the American Board? And would it be singular if his letters to Great Britain, on the same subject, had exerted some influence on Carey, Fuller, Pearce, and Ryland, (two of whom were his correspondents, and all of whom were his friends,) who formed the first Missionary Society of England, in 1792, nearly twenty years after Hopkins had written in favor of evangelizing Africa?

The scheme of colonizing Africa on religious principles is yet more evidently Hopkinsian. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, says:‡ "As well as can be ascertained by a diligent research, the first man who ever seriously contemplated sending a colony to Africa, was Dr. Thornton, a native of Virginia; but at the time when he conceived this plan, a resident of the city of Washington, where he is still remembered, as at the same time a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist. Dr. Thornton not only formed a plan of African colonization, but actually attempted its execution, intending to become himself the leader of the colony. Therefore, in the year 1787, he published an 'Address' to the free people of color in Rhode Island and Massachusetts,

* Rev. Joseph Tracy's Historical Examination of the State of Society in Western Africa, (p. 34,) — a pamphlet from which several of the facts here stated are derived.

† We are sorry to read the following sentence in a letter of Granville Sharp to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated August 1, 1786: — "I fully answered their *missionary*, the Rev. Thomas Th—ps—n, who had attempted publicly to vindicate the African slave trade, and [I] sent my answer to Mr. Benezet in MS., which was printed in America by the Quakers." — Hoare's Life of Sharp, p. 252.

‡ History of African Colonization, p. 61,

inviting them to accompany him to the western coast of Africa, with the view of planting a colony in the land of their forefathers. Although Dr. Hopkins's plan preceded this many years, yet his was rather a missionary than a colonization scheme; although, as we have seen, it probably suggested the first idea of the colony at Sierra Leone. But Dr. Thornton was undoubtedly the first who conceived, and attempted to carry into effect, a plan for a colony of free colored people on the western coast of Africa."

With regard to this statement, we need only say, that Granville Sharp wrote a private memorandum with regard to such a colony in 1783, and proposed his scheme to others, in 1786;* and therefore seems to have preceded Dr. Thornton, whose first public movement is mentioned by Dr. Alexander as being made in 1787. It is highly probable, that Mr. Hopkins first conceived his plan of African colonization, as early as 1773; and it can be proved, that he wrote upon it to a friend, as early as April, 1784, and then mentioned it, as a proposal which had been 'on foot for some time.' He could not have been indebted to Granville Sharp for this plan. Sharp's mention of it in 1783 was private, and his mention of it in 1786 does not appear to have been known by Hopkins, or any American, for some time afterward. Neither could Hopkins have received his idea from Dr. Thornton; for in 1787, when Dr. Thornton made his first appeal to the community, Hopkins says of it, "I have, as you know, sir, been for years desirous of an attempt to make *such* a settlement."†

Dr. Alexander says, that Hopkins's was "*rather* a missionary than a colonization scheme." It would have been more accurate to say, that the scheme was *both* a missionary and a colonization scheme. It was a plan not at first for promiscuous, but for carefully regulated colonization. It made Christianity prominent. It proposed the religious improvement of the slaves, as the chief reason for their emigration. But the prominence of religion aided, rather than depressed, the colonizing enterprise. Whatever Hopkins undertook was blended with the kingdom of Christ; yet, as evangelical instruction was to be given both in Granville Sharp's and in Dr. Thornton's colony, Hopkins regarded both as capable of being united with that which he had antecedently proposed.

But although Dr. Alexander regards the colonization movement as having been prompted by the Virginian instead of the New Englander, he yet supposes that Hopkins's "extraordinary enterprise" "had a real connection with the scheme of African colonization," which is now in progress, and which in some particulars is unlike that of the Newport divine. Dr. Alexander conjectures, that Hopkins's scheme may have suggested to Granville Sharp the plan of

* Prince Hoare's Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq., pp. 259, 260, 265.
† Letter to Moses Brown. See p. 139, above.

colonizing Sierra Leone; and says that "the recollection of this scheme of Dr. Hopkins, to send back to Africa some of her sons as missionaries, in all probability suggested the idea of African colonization."* The Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel, made this proposal of Hopkins known to the British public; and it were very natural to infer the expediency of *colonizing*, from the wisdom of *evangelizing* that benighted land. Still, we are warranted to say no more than this. If either of the two great men, Sharp and Hopkins, received his first idea of colonization indirectly from the other, it is more probable that the grandson of the English archbishop was aided by the Puritan divine, than that the Puritan divine was aided by the grandson of the archbishop. To the British philanthropist, belongs the distinction of having been first to execute the plan which, perhaps, was never suggested to him by another. To the Rhode Island philanthropist, belongs the distinction of having been the first man in the world who is *known* to have originated a scheme of African colonization, and of having "done what he could" to make it practically successful. This scheme was not a bare idea. It had an historical result. How could it have been otherwise? Every good thought is useful. Such a thought as this, presented to the public year after year by a powerful reasoner, must have produced an impression, deep, if not obvious. Who has ever labored so long for any worthy object, without accomplishing some good? It must be remembered, that with all his foes, some of the most enterprising ministers in New England were the admirers and disciples of Hopkins. He addressed to them letters and circulars; he sent to them newspapers and sermons on the subject, and thus prepared their own minds and the minds of their children for a scheme of evangelizing Africa, by means of moral and religious colonies. Let us contemplate one among several like instances, of the effect which Hopkins may have produced on the generation that was entering, when he was leaving, the scenes of public life.

Samuel J. Mills was in his twenty-first year, when the subject of this Memoir died. The father of Mr. Mills was the Congregational minister of Torringford, Connecticut, a town in the vicinity of Great Barrington. He is known to have been a personal admirer of Hopkins, a believer in the main peculiarities of the Hopkinsian theology. He was recognized through life as *substantially*, although not in all *minutiæ*, a Hopkinsian divine. It is understood, that as long as both of these pastors lived, they were in the habit of personal intercourse with each other; at least as often as once a year, at the Hartford election; and that Hopkins was in the habit of sending to Torring-

* Alexander's History of African Colonization, p. 55. Dr. Alexander seems to have thought, that Hopkins corresponded with Sharp *before* the Sierra Leone project had been started. Not so, however.

ford, as to other towns, some of the essays which he published on his favorite African scheme.* Now it is an interesting fact, that in less than seven years after the death of Hopkins, Samuel J. Mills, the son of the Torringford pastor, wrote in his Diary:— "I long to have the time arrive, when the gospel shall be preached to the poor *Africans*, and likewise to all nations."† Why did the African mission, rather than the Indian, first occur to him at this early period? In thirteen years after the death of the man who had recommended the formation of a "Company," for superintending the emigration of the negroes, (see p. 147, above,) Mr. Mills became a conspicuous agent for a colonization society. It was with the spirit of a missionary, that he embarked in an enterprise, which was commended twenty years before, in the same spirit, by his father's friend. Can any one, who has watched the transmission of influence from fireside interviews and juvenile impressions, (especially in the families of our New England pastors,) be slow to believe, that the mind of young Mills had been, in some degree, directly or indirectly, educated for this sphere of beneficence by the journals and pamphlets which his father had been receiving, for thirty years, from the Newport divine? It is not according to the analogy of God's providence, that thirty years of untiring labor for any benevolent enterprise, should fail to produce some impression upon the families which were partial to the laborer.

We do not pretend, that Hopkins produced a distinctly and easily perceptible effect in favor of Christianizing or of colonizing Africa. The many disappointments of his life give it a tinge of melancholy. His was not the cheering lot of such men as Moses Stuart, who, before they die, clearly *see* the results of their life's toil. Hopkins lived by faith, not by sight. He disseminated philanthropic plans, whose influence has been in a great measure invisible. But unseen results are none the less real. It is one lesson to be gathered from his Memoir, that perseverance in duty, even amid disheartening repulses, will end well; that an idea will never be lost, even though it be "buried long;" that "great truths can be expressed *no where*, without spreading themselves *every where*."

* In attempting to ascertain, whether these two clergymen were in the habit of epistolary correspondence with each other, the writer learned, that in December, 1823, when Mr. Mills was eighty years of age, his house, library, manuscripts, portrait, etc., were burned. It is distinctly remembered, however, that among other works of Hopkins in Mr. Mills's library, was the Memoir of Madam Osborn, which details a part of the scheme for civilizing and evangelizing Africa. This Memoir was extensively read a half century ago, in the families of New England clergymen.

† Spring's Life of Mills, p. 24.

Sect. XLI. INTEREST IN THE NEGRO POPULATION OF NEWPORT.

Mr. Hopkins was not one of those men who expend their zeal on remote objects of charity, while they neglect such as are near at home. On the 23d of June, 1780, he writes to Dr. West:

"The blacks look to me as their patron, and some of them have applied to me to preach to them in public, alleging that a considerable number would attend, and that there was an uncommon and increasing desire among them to be instructed. I have preached to them two Sabbaths, at six o'clock, P. M., in the meeting-house. A considerable number attend, and behave so well, that the whites who are present, (for they are not excluded,) can't but speak in their favor. But this, I expect, will make me many enemies, and be the occasion of my falling under much reproach. However, a persuasion that I am in the way of duty, and the hope that I may be the means of some good to the poor blacks, I hope will be sufficient to support me, whatever obloquy or suffering may be the consequence."

Notwithstanding all his abstruse discussions, his meeting-house was the favorite resort of the negro population, on the Sabbath. "One side of the gallery was appropriated to their use." Several of them belonged to his church; and among the subscribers to his "metaphysical" System of Divinity are enrolled the names, not only of Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Ryland, of England, but also of Congo Jenkins and Zingo Stevens, of Newport, and Cato Mumford and Nimble Nightingale, of Providence. There were seventeen negro subscribers, in Providence and Newport, for that recondite work. The remembrance of such facts as these, led Dr. Channing to say, that Hopkins "labored for the education of the colored people, and had the happiness of seeing the fruits of his labors in the intelligence and exemplary piety of those who came under his influence."*

Sect. XLII. INTEREST IN NATIONAL AND CHURCH POLITY.

Mr. Hopkins lived at a period of high political excitement. He took an interest in all that concerned his country. "His Fast Sermons," says one of his successors at Newport,† "were a perfect terror to evil-doers." "Like most of the ministers of the time," says Dr. Channing, "he was a strong Federalist." He did not spare the opposing party, although one of his prominent male church members was earnest in its defence. About a year before his death, he writes:

"December 14, 1802. On thanksgiving day, I said in my sermon, 'that we had no reason to be thankful that the distinguished blasphemer of Christ and Christianity, and reviler of our beloved Washington, — Paine, — was come to America, and that he was invited here and caressed by many who were in high stations!' This was soon spread through the town, and obtained the

* Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 350.
† Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, of Randolph, Mass.

encomium of the Federalists; but the contrary of some of the Democrats. I say *some* of them, because I believe that a number of them are really ashamed and sorry, that he was invited in the manner he has been, and that he is come."

Equally decided was Mr. Hopkins on questions of church government. His friend Dr. Hart, while absorbed in the plan of union between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, desired the Newport divine's opinion on the subject, and received the following reply:

"August 30, 1791. You inform me that a committee from the Synod or General Assembly of Presbyterians, and one from the clergy in Connecticut, are to meet at New Haven; and ask, 'What do you think we shall do?' Answer: I believe you will do nothing very great and important. It may serve to cultivate friendship, and keep up a correspondence which may answer valuable ends. And you may agree upon some method or rule, by which candidates or dismissed ministers shall be recommended from one to the other, without which recommendation they shall not be received; which may prevent, in future, disorders of that kind which have taken place heretofore. But it cannot be expected, that you will agree and unite in *one form* of church government and discipline."

After Mr. Hopkins had been engaged in studying the prophecies, and had become familiar with the symbolical style, he made frequent use of the epithet *frogs*. In one of his letters he says: "On the 18th of this month, the Rev. Mr. James Freeman was ordained pastor of the First Episcopal Church in Boston. This was done, I conclude, by the Congregational ministers in Boston. What is the world coming to! This is *Catholicism* indeed! Frogs — spirits of devils, working wonders!" Mr. Freeman was afterwards a Unitarian.

It is well known that Mr. Hopkins was active in the formation of Congregational churches; and he left among his papers the ensuing plan of government and discipline. It possesses a rare historical value. It illustrates its author's independence, his high tone of morals, his exactness of Christian discipline.

"*Articles of a Church.*

"We, the subscribers, being persuaded that we are called by God to form ourselves into a Christian church, entering into covenant with God, and with each other, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, and to watch over and assist one another in love and faithfulness, and devoting ourselves, with all we have, to the service of Christ, and to promote his interest and kingdom, do agree in the following articles, which we think agreeable to the Word of God, and important, and necessary to be observed, in order to the best regulation and prosperity of a church of Christ.

"I. That none are qualified, in the sight of God, to be members of a Christian church, unless they be true believers in Jesus Christ, so as to be his real friends, and obedient to him. And therefore none are visible members of a church of Christ, or ought to be admitted there, but those who appear to understand the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and profess true repentance, and faith in Christ, and engage hearty obedience to him, and whose conversation is agreeable to such profession and engagement.

"II. The children of those believers who are members of the visible church, observing all things which Christ has commanded, are included in the covenant with their parents, and are proper subjects of baptism, and ought to be given up to Christ in that ordinance by the parents. But no other children may be baptized.

"III. A careful and strict discipline is to be exercised and maintained by every particular church, over all the members of it; being very careful and cautious in admitting members, that none be admitted but those who appear to have the qualifications above mentioned; and watching over one another, and reproving and admonishing those who walk disorderly, contrary to their profession and engagements; and casting them out of the church, who, after proper admonition, continue impenitent and unreformed. And the general rule, for the discipline of offending members, is given by Christ in Matt. xviii. 15, &c.

"IV. In all cases to be decided by the church, the voice of the majority of the brethren present must be considered as the act of the church. However, when there shall be any dissenters, who disagree with the majority, in any case, they must be treated with love and great tenderness; and all proper means must be used by the rest of the church to convince them, and persuade them, at least, so far to acquiesce in the act of the church, as to take no offence, though they cannot see their way clear to act with them.

"V. The pastor of the church is to have no vote in the decision of any matter before the church. He is to act as moderator, and give all the light and assistance he can to the church, in all cases that may lie before them.

"VI. Every church hath a right to choose their own pastor; but he is to be ordained to the work of the ministry, not by the brethren of the church, but by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; that is, ministers of the gospel.

"VII. There ought not to be any appeal from the judgment and decision of a particular church, to any higher judicatory which has authority to set aside what they do, or oblige them to recede from it; but each church hath full power to determine, within and for itself, who shall be admitted as members, and who ought to be censured and cast out; and to decide all other matters that may be before them. But it may be proper and expedient, in cases that are difficult, or in which the church is much divided, before they proceed to act and decide, to request the assistance of pastors and delegates of other churches, in order to obtain light and direction. But such pastors and delegates have no authority to control the church which applies to them; but only to instruct and advise.

"VIII. As the education of the children of the church, who have been baptized, is of vast importance, and the parents have solemnly engaged, to God and to the church, to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, the church ought to take a particular care of this matter; and where there appears to be a great neglect, the faulty parent is to be admonished, and rejected if he do not reform. And such children are to be under the care and discipline of the church, when they are adult, so as to be capable of judging and acting for themselves, in matters of religion. And if they walk disorderly, and refuse to do whatsoever Christ has commanded, after proper admonition, they are to be rejected.

"IX. The church ought to have frequent stated meetings; at least, always before their attendance on the Lord's supper, which ought to be once a month, at least. At which meeting, and all other meetings of the church, both males and females ought to attend, when the business that may be before the church is to be transacted; and the church are to pray together, and to converse freely on any matters relating to their holy profession, that may be proposed, and receive instruction and exhortation from the pastor, as time and circumstances admit and require.

"X. The persons that desire to join with the church, shall apply to the pastor; and after they have been examined by him, shall come before the

church, at one of their meetings mentioned in the preceding article, that the church may have opportunity to satisfy themselves respecting their qualifications for admission. And if the church approve of them, their proposal to join with the church shall be published to the congregation. And if no reasonable objection be made against it, they shall then be admitted, by making a public profession, and entering into covenant.

"XI. When any person shall be recommended to stated communion in the church, by any other church, as in good standing with them, he shall not be admitted upon such recommendation, until he give opportunity to the church to be acquainted with his religious sentiments and exercises, so far as to satisfy them that it is proper for them to admit him.

"XII. As the church is a public society, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid, the members of it ought to be admitted publicly, before the congregation; and when any person falls under the censure of the church, he ought not to be restored until he makes a public, credible profession of repentance. And when the church rejects any of its members, it ought to be done publicly.

"XIII. It belongs to the church to choose their pastor, and to see that he is well supported, so that he may give himself wholly to the work of the ministry, if they be able, taking the whole of it on themselves, except what others shall voluntarily give. And in furnishing this support, each member of the church ought to give in proportion to his substance and ability. And the church are to watch over each other with respect to this; and if any member shall neglect and refuse to do so much as the church shall judge is no more than his proportion, he ought to be rejected and censured as covetous.

"XIV. The church ought to take a kind and tender care of all the poor members who need their assistance, so that none shall want of necessaries for the body. And for this end they ought always to have a sufficient stock in the hands of the deacons, to be distributed by them according to their best discretion.

"XV. The church is to choose deacons, who are to take the charge and care of all the temporals of the church, for the support of the pastor, the supply of the poor of the church, and furnishing the Lord's table, or for answering any other purposes which the church shall undertake. And the deacons ought to be ordained to this work.

"XVI. Brethren ought not to go to law with each other; according to 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. But when any one thinks himself injured by another in his temporal interest, if the matter cannot be healed more privately, he ought to bring it before the church. And if the injurious person refuse to hear the church, he must be rejected; and then the injured brother may make use of the civil law to recover his right.

"XVII. Churches ought not to allow any of their members to marry to persons of openly wicked lives, or who are infidels, or embrace and maintain damnable errors."

Sect. XLIII. INFLUENCE OF HOPKINS'S PERSONAL CHARACTER UPON HIS THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

When we reflect on the philanthropic movements of this indefatigable man, we are inclined to imagine that he was merely a philanthropist; and when we consider his theological labors, we are apt to conceive of him as merely a theologian. We forget that his philanthropy was his theology drawn out into practice, and that his theological speculations were prompted and followed by philanthropic aims. We cannot understand him as a theologian, without exam-

ining his life of beneficence; and we cannot appreciate his activity in doing good, without studying his peculiarities as a divine.

In estimating the influence of our author's personal character upon his theological system, let us first consider his transparent honesty, as affecting the structure of his creed. Seeking neither wealth nor fame, he kept his mind open to the teachings of the divine word, and scrupled not to express his convictions, whatever they might be. His system, therefore, is *his own*. A large part of its value consists in the fact, that it is the result of his own thought, and is so expressed as to please himself rather than his neighbors. This is a rare merit. Of what use is it to write a theological system for the purpose of gratifying the prejudices of a party? In reading the works of Hopkins, we feel that we are near his heart. Whether we approve or disapprove his words, we are quickened by them, as the plain-spoken language of an honest man. He did not write as a diplomatist. In some respects, he resembled the early teachers of Christianity. As they resisted all the religious parties around them, so he, amiable as was his private character, gave offence to all the sects and schools with whom he came in contact. He often spoke in condemnatory words of "those who called themselves Calvinists, that were for palliating the matter by, as it were, trimming off the knots of Calvinism, that they might conform it more to the taste of those who are most disposed to object against it." His entire frankness of spirit led him to express, in sermons and public addresses, such doctrines, with regard to the divine agency in the production of sin, as other Calvinists had expressed in scientific treatises only. Where this honesty was known, it was highly revered; and, therefore, many of the Quakers, the Methodists, the Baptists, who had opposed his doctrinal views, were among the most reverential admirers of him as a man and a Christian.

The open-heartedness of Hopkins is well illustrated in the following reminiscence by Dr. Channing: "One day he dined at my father's, with a young minister who was willing to comply with the costume of the day, but whose modesty only allowed the ruffles to peep from his breast. The doctor said, with good humor, 'I don't care for ruffles; but if I wore them, I'd wear them like a man.'" * It was just so in his theology. He exposed what he had.

Our author's strength of character induced him to give an unusual prominence to the more difficult parts of theology, and thus it shaped his entire system. Whether his speculations be true or false, he has done a great work in promoting manly discussion, in convincing his readers that piety is something more than a blind sentimentalism, and that theology is something better than a superstitious faith. He

* Works, vol. iv. p. 343.

has encouraged men to examine intricate theories, and the examination has saved them from scepticism. Hundreds have been repulsed into infidelity, by the fear of good men to encounter philosophical objections. Hopkins was too strong for such fears. He had that sterling common sense which loves to grapple with important truths, cost what they may of toil. The great problem of the existence of sin early awakened his curiosity, and moved the depths of his heart.* A weaker man would have shrunk from the investigation of such a theme. But he was ready to defend all parts of what he loved to call "a consistent Calvinism." His readiness to encounter the hardest subjects and the sturdiest opponents, was foretokened by one of his early corporeal feats. It is reported that an insane man, stalwart and furious, was once escaping from his keepers with fearful speed; but the young divine intercepted him, and held him fast until the maniac gave up, and cried, "Hopkins, you are my master."

Throughout the unpublished and the published writings of Hopkins, there breathes a masculine spirit, which refuses to be satisfied by assertion instead of argument, and insists on the legitimate use of the faculties which God has given us. At the age of sixty-five, he writes to Dr. Hart: "I ask what faith I shall have in the power of God, or what belief of any revealed truth, if I do not so far trust to my own understanding, as to think and be confident that I do understand that God has revealed certain truths, and what they are." In his thirty-fifth year, Hopkins seized at what he deemed a tacit concession of Dr. Mayhew, that Arminianism could not be sustained by reason. He writes to Bellamy: "I think he [Mayhew] says that which may be fairly construed as a crying down reason, under the name of *metaphysical*, or some epithet tantamount." Hopkins was too vigorous to leave such a concession unnoticed. He turns the tables on his Arminian opposers, and they censure him for his argumentative style, — the very thing for which they have been censured, again and again, by their antagonists. Our stout champion says, that "Pelagians and Arminians have been, in too many instances, treated so by their opponents, the professed Calvinists. The former have gloried in their reasoning against the latter, as unanswerable demonstration. The latter, instead of detecting the weakness, fallacy, and absurdity of the reasoning of the former, and maintaining their cause on this ground, as well they might, have endeavored to defend themselves from this weapon by bringing it into disgrace, and rejecting

* Five weeks after he had finished his theological studies at Northampton, our young candidate is found in a dispute with the missionary Sergeant, Edwards's predecessor at Stockbridge. He writes: "July 8, 1743. Went to see Mr. Sergeant, and in our discourse he denied that the apostle spake of himself in the seventh chapter of Romans. We had some talk upon it, but brought nothing to a point. I am not satisfied whether it is from an Arminian principle or not, that Mr. Sergeant holds this. I know many Arminians are of his mind as to this chapter."

it under the name of *carnal, unsanctified reason*, &c. This has been so far from humbling or giving them the least conviction of their errors, that it has had a contrary effect to a very great and sensible degree. And no wonder; for this was the direct tendency of it, as it is an implicit confession that they felt themselves worsted at reasoning."*

Our author's benevolence and sense of justice and equity moulded his theological belief. It was more natural for him than for some other men, to resolve all virtue into benevolence. He had virtue enough to bear an analysis, and he felt that all his virtue was reducible to love. He judged that our moral disease needed severe medicines, and he therefore gave them. He aimed to increase the happiness of men, by making them willing to lose themselves in the divine glory. He was strict, because he deemed a strict life to be a truly kind one. His faith was rigid, for the same reason that his conduct was philanthropic. The tendency of some modern speculations to discourage all penal enactments, is effectually met by the profound reasonings of our author on the justice of eternal punishment. The spirit of his entire system is one of stern opposition to sin, because sin deserves this opposition, and because the interests of the universe require it. He gives an unusual prominence to the idea, that the severest of the divine dispensations are prompted by a desire to promote the highest happiness of the largest number. He meant that those theories which are called severe, should rest on a basis of love. It would have been impossible for him to make the doctrines of high Calvinism so impressive as he has made them, unless he had explained, with unusual fulness, the equity of the divine administration. He ever attempted to show that his doctrines were fair, as well as true. He believed that God imputes the sin of Adam to all men, but only because, and so far forth as, all men have first "approved of" that sin, and chosen to make it their own. He believed that God imputes the holiness of Christ to believers; but only on condition that they first "approve of" Christ's holiness, and prefer to imitate it. The genius of Hopkins's theology consists in its attempting to show the entire rectitude of the divine government, and then in exalting that government high above all other interests. We cannot delight too much in a sovereignty which is congenial with equity. The speculations of our author have been termed abstract; some of them were so, but their general aim was practical and benevolent. Their main drift was, to enforce obedience to God, by showing that obedience is our reasonable duty. Their prevailing scope was to prove, that God ought to be a Sovereign, and, therefore, is one; that his decrees are amiable, and, therefore, we ought to acquiesce in them, whatever they may be; that his law is level to our natural power, and, therefore, ought to be obeyed forthwith. We do not

* Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. pp. 492, 493.

suppose that all his speculations were perfectly accurate, but they all pointed to this practical truth: The first, the immediate, the fair, the reasonable duty of all moral agents is, to love the government of God supremely, and submit to it without reserve; to this duty, and to nothing save what involves this duty, sinners ought to be urged at once, and without exception. By the new distinctness which Hopkins gave to this truth, he has been made, and is now made, an instrument of many revivals of religion. He, and the men who drank of his spirit, have been distinguished as philanthropic and enterprising Christians.*

We cannot better illustrate our author's nice regard to equity, than in the following Essay, which he wrote only twelve years after Edwards had published the Treatise on the Will. The essay exhibits, also, that strength of mind, that honesty of heart, which made our author what he was. Unless he had written and preached often in the style of the following discussion, he could not have sustained himself in his high theories on the predestinating and sovereign agency of God. We shall misunderstand those theories, unless we view them in the light which they receive from the Hopkinsian statements in the discussion here appended. The author first proposes three questions, and then gives his truly Edwardean answers.

"Question first. If underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, can it be the duty of a creature to have it?

"Question second. If we actually have all that is communicated to us, is not this all we should have?

"Question third. If it is, is not every man as good as he should be?

"In order to answer these questions, I begin with the *first. If underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, can it be the duty of a creature to have it?*

"In answering this question, I would first lay down this *axiom;* for the proof of which, if not granted by all, I refer to *Edwards on the Will, passim: Moral impossibility or inability in man to perform any duty, does not excuse him for not performing it.*

"Again, before I proceed, I shall inquire into the sense of the word *peculiar;* for I perceive there is an ambiguity attending it, which will be apt to lead into mistake. The word *peculiar* sometimes signifies that which so belongs to a being or thing that it is absolutely impossible, in the nature of things, that it should belong to any thing else; or, that there is a natural impossibility that it should belong to any other being or thing, even though that other being should desire it, and choose it never so much. Thus, self-existence, infinity, &c., are *peculiar* to God.

"But again, the word *peculiar* sometimes signifies no more than that which belongs only to some being or beings, and not to all, or to some other being; though it might belong to this other being, did he but choose it and seek after it. Thus, a knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences is *peculiar* to some men, and does not belong to others, who might as well have it, if they did but choose it and properly seek after it. Thus, also, justice and benevolence are *peculiar* to some men, although all might possess them if they would. In this latter sense, underived virtue is *peculiar* to the Deity; so that although no creature actually possesses it, yet all *rational creatures* might possess it, if they would; *i. e.*, all creatures, supposing them to be created with barely

* See, for example, p. 64 of the present Memoir.

those natural faculties which constitute them moral agents, may, if they choose it, become possessed of that virtue which shall be underived in any other sense than this: that as they have derived their existence from God, so they themselves, and every act and habit of theirs, or disposition of their wills, is in some sense derived. But their virtue may be as much underived, as men's wickedness is now. I say, there is nothing but a volition or choice of theirs wanting to effect this. For virtue consists primarily and principally in a certain disposition of will; which, let us suppose, for the present, to be *benevolence*; for it makes no odds, in the present question, what disposition we suppose it to be. Then, I say, nothing but a choice is necessary in order to put one in possession of benevolence; for if we do but choose benevolence, we are pleased with it, and are in love with it; and if we are in love with it, then we have an inclination or disposition of will to it. If we have a disposition of will to it, then we have a disposition to wish well to all beings. If we have a disposition to wish well to all beings, then we have benevolence; for this is nothing but such a disposition. Therefore, if we do but choose benevolence, we actually have benevolence. Therefore, there is nothing but a volition or choice wanting in any creature, in order to his becoming possessed of underived virtue. In this latter sense, therefore, underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity.

"Thus we have shown in what sense underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity; *viz.*, only *actually*, or in fact, peculiar to him, and not *necessarily*; *i. e.*, there is no other impossibility but a moral one, that a rational creature should possess it. And since that (by the forementioned axiom) does not excuse from duty, notwithstanding underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, yet it may well enough be the duty of creatures to have it.

"This, then, is the answer to the first question: *Yes, it can be the duty of a creature to have it*; and actually is so, if it be his duty to have every amiable quality which [it] is in his power to have, which he has a fair offer of, to choose or refuse, as he pleases.

"Now, against this answer, I perceive several objections will be vehemently urged. As, 'That men *can't* become possessed of underived virtue, it is *absolutely impossible*, and men might as well give themselves a new heart, which we know from Scripture to be the peculiar work of God,' &c.

"As to the words *can't*, *impossible*, &c., I suppose it is generally well understood what a fallacy is couched in them; and how vastly different their signification is, when used in a moral and philosophical sense, (which is the case here,) from what it is when they are used in their vulgar sense. So that I need say nothing to explain the matter here.

"Again, when it is said, 'men might as well give themselves a new heart,' this is granted, that they might. And although we allow that this work is *peculiar* to God, yet it is peculiar only in the latter sense, above [named]. So that the greatest sinner on earth can renew his own heart, or change his will, whenever he pleases; which he is bound to do immediately; and is threatened with eternal damnation if he finally does not.

"It may also be objected, 'That it is impossible that God should make a creature to be possessed of *underived virtue*; how, then, is any such thing possible at all, since *Almighty God* cannot effect it?' To which I answer, It is just as possible, as sin was before it entered into the world. If by God's making a creature to be possessed of underived virtue, be meant his enduing a creature with it, we grant it is impossible, *naturally* impossible. For it is a contradiction, to suppose that that which is endued or bestowed should be underived. But that God should make a creature having perfect liberty, is in no wise impossible. Neither is it, nor can it be, any other way impossible, but in a moral sense, that such a creature should choose virtue, and so become possessed of it, as much underived as any disposition or volition whatever.

"It may further be said, after this manner: 'How is it possible that any creature should have underived virtue, when all virtue is as much diffused from God, as its fountain, as light is from the sun? Might not men as well

see light without its being disseminated from the sun, as have any virtue underived from God?' It is readily granted, as has already been intimated, that all virtue is as really and actually from God as light is from the sun; yet still this instance is not exactly parallel. And concerning all such illustrations, transferred from the natural world to things of a moral nature, it is worthy of observation, that there is a great fallacy in them, and they greatly tend to deceive; as in such affairs, in the natural world, the will of no creature, perhaps, or at least of the person spoken of, can make any alteration in any respect, let it be which way it will. But things of a moral nature are all dependent on the will, and are just as that is. So, in the present instance, if the sun should be removed, or cease to diffuse light, men could not see, let them choose and desire it as much as they will. Whereas it has been before shown, that if men did but once choose virtue, they would be actually in possession of it, however uncommunicated by God.

"Thus it is shown, that though underived virtue be peculiar to the Deity, yet it may be, and in fact is, the duty of every rational creature to have it. And also several objections which might be made against this doctrine, have been answered; all which, taken together, may suffice for an answer to the *first* question.

"The first being answered, there need but a word or two be said to the others.

"Question second. If we actually have all that is actually communicated to us, is not this all we should have?

"Answer. No; because, by the foregoing answer, we are obliged to have what is not communicated to us, viz., *underived virtue*; (or, we are obliged to have and exercise virtue, whether it is communicated to us or not.)

"Question third. If it is, is not every man as good as he should be?

"Answer. But it is *not*, by answer second. Every man, therefore, is not as good as he should be; because, although he has all that is actually communicated, yet he has not all that he should have.

"Great Barrington, February 11, 1766."

If the preceding document had been published before Emmons wrote his sermon on "The Excuse of Sinners their Condemnation,"* we should suppose that many ideas in that sermon had been suggested by this document. The design of Emmons is to show, first "What God does not require of sinners which he has not given them;" secondly, "What he does require of them which he has not given them;" and thirdly, "That they have no reason to complain of his requiring that of them which he has not given them." There is certainly a singular coincidence here, between the thoughts of Emmons and those of Dr. Hopkins.

Our author's tenacity of purpose guided him in fashioning his theological system, in adjusting its proportions, and regulating the prominence of its different parts. He contended most stoutly for those articles which were most vehemently opposed. As men objected less to his doctrine of human freedom than to his doctrine of the eternal decrees, he published less on the former truth than on the latter. Through his whole life he taught, that "this sin which

* Emmons's Works, vol. vi. pp. 85, seq.

takes place in the posterity of Adam, is not properly distinguished into original and actual sin, because it is all really actual, and there is, strictly speaking, no other sin but actual sin;"* still, he did not introduce this doctrine into his works, so often as he introduced the doctrine of God's agency in producing moral evil. Why not? Probably because the former doctrine was not gainsaid by many of his readers. This seems to have been a chief reason, why the proportions of his system differ, somewhat, from those which we find in some other Hopkinsian works. In other circumstances, he might have varied the relative position of his doctrines. He was not ready to yield any thing which he deemed true and important. There is something great in his faithfulness to himself. We honor him for his firmness, amid adversaries. When reading some of his very latest epistles, we admire his adhesion to the creed of his earlier days. It was not the obstinacy of a bigot, but the constancy of a Christian student. It reminds us of his pertinacity in the physical habits of his youth. "Dr. Hopkins told me," writes one of his admirers, "that in early life he was very sprightly, and could put his hands on a five-rail fence and throw his feet over with ease, and that in his old age he tried to perform the same manœuvre, but failed, falling his whole length on the ground." He never gave up, unless he were obliged to do so by Providence. "*Justus propositi tenax*," is his fitting designation.

The tenacity of purpose for which this good man was so eminent, did not always prevent his yielding his own judgment to the advice of his friends, on matters of secondary importance. Thus we are told by Dr. Patten, that Hopkins was inclined to publish in his "System" a certain section on the "agency of God in the existence of sin;" but was induced to omit it by the counsel of men whom he valued. He afterwards regretted that he had complied with their advice; but he abandoned no important principle in the compliance. †

Our author's love of free, rational, and biblical inquiry, had an influence on his doctrinal faith. We may say of him what he says

* Hopkins's Works, vol. i. p. 224.

† See Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 142, seq. That omitted section is now lost. It is well known, that on the subject of the divine agency in producing moral evil, Hopkins did not exactly agree with Drs. Emmons and Samuel Spring. He was not quite willing to say, that God's agency in regard to our wrong doing is as immediate and direct, as his agency in regard to our right doing. When Dr. Emmons read to Hopkins the manuscript of the celebrated sermon, entitled "Man's Activity and Dependence Illustrated and Reconciled," Hopkins did not positively disapprove of it, but advised him to read it to Dr. West before publishing it. Emmons read it to West, who coincided with it, and it was published. On this point, Hopkins remained unwilling to say so much as Emmons, although on other points of the subject he said more. Several friends of Hopkins assert, that in his later years he looked upon Dr. Emmons as the ablest theologian of New England.

of President Edwards: "He took his religious principles from the Bible, and not from any human system or body of divinity. Though his principles were Calvinistic, yet he called no man father. He thought and judged for himself, and was truly very much of an original."* Hopkins has been called a metaphysician; but one great object of his life was, to break down a system of false metaphysics, which interferes with the plain meaning of the written word. He was not perfect, but he bowed before the revelation of God. His reverence for the Creator made him independent of creatures. Many European theologians have been slaves to each other; but what had the minister of Great Barrington to fear from foreign prescription? Oxford could not overawe him. No œcumenical council could reach him. In many respects, it was well for him that he was retired with Edwards, in the forests of Berkshire. He studied more profoundly and more freely at the base of Monument Mountain, than he would have done amid the fashions of a court. He was a Congregational minister in the New World; and therefore, if true to his calling and position, he must have examined the truth for himself. He derived from Congregationalism one of its chief blessings, — an impulse as well as a liberty to believe according to evidence, rather than according to prescription.

Of course, he was accused, as an independent thinker is apt to be accused, of all kinds of heresies. Once, when charged with adopting Arminian interpretations of the Bible, he replies in his sturdy way: "It does not fright me at all, to be told that Arminians understand this text as I do. For who would not much rather join with the grossest Arminians, so far as they are right, than with the most orthodox Calvinists, wherein they are wrong?"† When tired of hearing the stale charge that he had started new doctrines into life, he responds: "I now declare, I had much rather publish *New Divinity* than any other. And the more of this the better, — if it be but true. Nor do I think any doctrine can be 'too strange to be true.' I should think it hardly worth while to write, if I had nothing *new* to say."‡ In his "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue," Hopkins alludes to his having been falsely accused of propounding new theories, and replies: "This he [Mr. Hart] has over and over again, above a dozen times. He calls them 'new doctrines,' 'new orthodoxy,' 'a new scheme,' 'new notions,' 'a new system or rather chaos of divinity,' 'upstart errors,' &c. And the teachers of them he calls 'new apostles,' 'new divines,' 'new teachers,' &c. — If this were true, I see not what reason there would be to make such a great outcry about it. This is really no evidence against those doctrines. It is at least *possible*, that there is some truth contained in the Bible, which has not been commonly taught;

* Memoir of Edwards, p. 44. † Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 393. ‡ Ib. p. 345.

yea, has never been mentioned by any writer since the apostles; and whenever that shall be discovered and brought out, it will be *new*. And who knows but that some such *new* discoveries may be made in our day? If so, unhappy and very guilty will be the man who shall attempt to fright people, and raise their prejudices against it, by raising the cry of NEW Divinity. Indeed, I question whether an author can, with a right temper and view, take this method to run any doctrine down, by appealing to the prejudices of people, and keeping up a constant, loud cry of *new, upstart* divinity." *

So far does Hopkins indulge his independent spirit, that often when he quotes other writers, even Edwards himself, he disclaims all intention to quote them as establishing the truth of his positions, and he says in one passage: "I hope I never shall be guilty of referring to any uninspired *man* as an *authority*. When I mentioned a sense which *others* put upon this text, I referred to the Doctor [Doddridge] as one of them, not as any evidence that this was the right sense; but that it was in fact so understood by some, as I asserted." † We must concede that, here and there, our author adopts a style too intense and unqualified, ‡ in asserting the duty of free thought. When reprimanded for controverting some of the fathers, the intrepid man replied, in language more nervous and cogent than some would think him capable of using:

"If it could serve any good purpose, I might say, that as great a number of divines, as old or elder than they, and as famous for piety and learning, might be mentioned, who are on our side of the question. And we might proceed to set father against father, and try who shall get the most on his side. But this is in truth nothing to the purpose. The opinion of the most venerable and renowned fathers in this case, in determining what doctrines are true, and what are not so, ought not to have the least weight. And it is foolish, and even carries a degree of impiety in it, for us, who have the Bible in our hands, to lay the weight of a straw on the opinion of the wisest and best men that ever lived. I am sorry to have any occasion to make this observation at this time of day, among *Protestants*. It is very weak and ridiculous, if not something worse, for a divine to attempt to support or confirm any doctrine by appealing to the judgment and decision of any man; or to run down and reject any tenet that is advanced, merely because it is a *new* doctrine, or embraced by few, and is contrary to the opinion of the fathers, and what has been established by common consent. Since people in general are too apt to be influenced by this, and it is common for every one to have his *father*, on whose sleeves he pins his faith in a great measure, without examining for himself, it is pity they should be upheld and confirmed in it by public teachers, when it is of such importance that they should by all possible means be beat off from this sandy foundation, and learn to judge for themselves by 'reasoning out of the Scriptures,' and 'searching them daily, to see if these things are so.'" §

* See p. 9 of the Animadversions.

† Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 397.

‡ It has been already asserted, (see pp. 29, 30, above,) that our author, stable as he was, often indulged himself in a style of writing too unqualified. He trusted, that the good sense of his readers would suggest at once the needed limitations.

§ Hopkins's Two Discourses on Law and Regeneration, Works, vol. iii. pp. 564, 565.

Averse as Dr. Channing was to the spirit and genius of Hopkinsianism, he yet never accuses Hopkins himself of a blind adherence to human creeds, of a slavish and bigoted subjection to any uninspired men. He rather commends the Rhode Island patriarch for the opposite virtues, and considers them as exerting an influence upon his theological system. He says, in language needing qualification:

"His [Hopkins's] name is, indeed, associated with a stern and appalling theology, and it is true that he wanted toleration toward those who rejected his views. Still, in forming his religious opinions, he was superior to human authority; he broke away from human creeds; he interpreted God's word for himself; he revered reason, the oracle of God within him."

". . . From such a man, a tame acquiescence in the established theology was not to be expected. He, indeed, accepted the doctrine of predestination in its severest form; but in so doing, he imagined himself a disciple of reason as well as of revelation. He believed this doctrine to be sustained by profound metaphysical argumentation, and to rest on the only sound philosophy of the human mind; so that in receiving it, he did not abandon the ground of reason. In accordance with his free spirit of inquiry, we find him making not a few important modifications of Calvinism. The doctrine that we are liable to punishment for the sin of our first parent, he wholly rejected; and not satisfied with denying the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, he subverted what the old theology had set forth as the only foundation of divine acceptance; namely, the imputation of Christ's righteousness or merits to the believer. The doctrine that Christ died for the elect only, found no mercy at his hands. He taught that Christ suffered equally for all mankind. The system of Dr. Hopkins was, indeed, an effort of reason to reconcile Calvinism with its essential truths. Accordingly, his disciples were sometimes called, and willingly called, Rational Calvinists. The impression which he made was much greater than is now supposed. The churches of New England received a decided impression from his views; and though his name — once given to his followers — is no longer borne, his influence is still felt. The conflict now going on in our country, for the purpose of mitigating the harsh features of Calvinism, is a stage of the revolutionary movement to which he, more than any man, gave impulse. *I* can certainly bear witness to the spirit of progress and free inquiry which possessed him. In my youth, I preached in this house at the request of the venerable old man.* As soon as the services were closed, he turned to me with an animated, benignant smile, and using a quaintness of expression which I need not repeat, said to me, that theology was still imperfect, and that he hoped I should live to carry it towards perfection. Rare and most honorable liberality in the leader of a sect! He wanted not to secure a follower, but to impel a young mind to higher truth. I feel that ability has not been given me to accomplish this generous hope; but such quickening language from such lips, though it could not give strength, might kindle desire and elevate exertion."†

The quaint expression which Dr. Channing did not repeat in the preceding extract, he has repeated in another document. It is an expression illustrating the opinion which Hopkins, as well as Bellamy and Edwards, entertained, with regard to what the younger Edwards terms "improvements in theology." Dr. Channing writes of Hopkins, in a more familiar paper:

* Dr. Channing was ordained at Boston, in the very year of Hopkins's death

† Channing's Works, vol. iv. pp. 342, 343, 344.

"I preached for him once; and after the service in the pulpit, he smiled on me, and said, 'The *hat* is not made yet.' On my asking an explanation, he told me that Dr. Bellamy used to speak of theology as a progressive science, and compare the different stages of it to the successive processes of *making a hat*. The beaver was to be born, then to be killed, and then the felt to be made, &c. Having thus explained the similitude, he added, 'The hat is not made, and I hope you will help to finish it.'" *

It has been said, that for a man like Hopkins to cherish the love of progress in a youth like Channing, is of dangerous tendency. But *real* progress will always lead into the truth. All movement toward error is retrograde, and where the allowance of independent thought has made one Unitarian, the repression of it has made ten infidels. Attempts to fetter the human mind have maddened it, until it has burst through all restraint into scepticism or atheism. Channing was a youth of meditative and even ascetic habits. He admired Hopkins, but he cherished a still higher reverence for Stiles. There is no more evidence of his having been led into Socinianism by the independence of Hopkins, his neighbor, than by the eminent catholicism of Stiles, his former pastor; nor can he be more justly said to have been repulsed into Unitarianism by the stern features of Hopkins's *new* divinity, than by the rigid expression of Stiles's *old* divinity. If the charge had not been so often repeated, we should not deign to notice it; but if it be honorable to ascribe the career of Channing to the fact of his having been trained amid Hopkinsian influences, it would be equally honorable to ascribe the career of Buckminster to the fact of his having been trained under Calvinistic and anti-Hopkinsian influences. All such charges are idle, unless they be proved.

It is not wonderful, that so dauntless an inquirer as Hopkins should have awakened the fears of less manly thinkers. His antagonist, Mills, who reprimanded him for so many things, once expressed the grief of "many worthy fathers in the ministry, whose praise is in the gospel through the churches, and who are not so far *superannuated*, but that, with good old Eli, they *tremble* for fear of the ark, when they see it in danger of a wrong touch from the vigor and sprightliness of younger years." In our times it is unusual to characterize Hopkins as a *sprightly* author, but he replied to this reprimand of Mr. Mills with a Hopkinsian vigor: "Who these worthy, aged, *trembling* fathers are," he remarks, "I know not, and have no inclination to detract from their praise. But I think I have a right to say, *they fear where no fear is;* and if they *tremble*, and handle the ark as Mr. Mills has done, no thanks are due to them, that it has not been completely overset long ago." †

But while our author was a champion for untrammelled thought, he was peculiarly deferential to the decisions of the inspired word.

* Letter of February 14, 1840. † Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 417.

Independent as he was, he aimed to sink all human metaphysics beneath the Scriptures; to have no other than a biblical philosophy. He went beyond the divines of his day, in deriving his science from the sacred volume. His doctrines will be misunderstood by men who do not appreciate his marked reverence for the letter, as well as the spirit of the Bible.

There are different opinions on the question, whether a system of divinity should be expressed in the language of the inspired penmen, or whether it should exhibit the biblical ideas in a more modern and occidental form. But whatever may be our own mode of answering this question, we must admire the masculine genius of him who combines the greatest freedom of inquiry, and the purest love of rational investigation, with an humble deference to the meaning and also to the phraseology of the sacred writers. Even if men disapprove of his judgment, they must commend the reverential spirit which led our author to adopt the phrases, as well as the ideas, which he deemed to be scriptural. He exposed himself to much obloquy, by adhering to the forms of utterance which he found in the bold appeals of inspired men. He felt himself justified in asserting, because the Bible asserts, that "the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh," "and the heart of his servants," and "moved David to say, Go, number Israel;" and he "put a lying spirit in the mouth of" the prophets, and "hath poured out upon men the spirit of a deep sleep," etc., etc., etc. He might have avoided many censures, if he had couched his ideas in other phrases. But no. "The Bible says it, —therefore I say it," was the censeless language of his heart. He would yield to no objections against the words of holy men, who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Did Samuel Hopkins aim to exalt his logic above inspiration? It is not too much to affirm, that no divines before his day could express their faith in the precise words of the Bible, so thoroughly and minutely as he. This gave to his system its excellence, in his own lowly view. Throughout his Journal we are every where meeting such nervous comments as the following, from this admirer of a biblical creed:

"'And whom he will, he hardeneth.' Saint Paul here has reference to God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh, and does not soften the expressions used respecting the hardening his heart, in the least. The *softeners* of our day would not speak so. They would say, 'Whom he will, he *permits* or suffers to harden themselves.' We may hence infer, that they do not think and feel respecting this matter as Paul did." See also Hopkins's Works, vol. i. pp. 111–130, new edition.

The modesty of our divine had an obvious effect upon his theological speculations. He cherished a native lowliness, which was

beautified by divine grace into a Christian humility. His Journal, already quoted, discloses the depth of his penitence. This humbleness of mind gave both impulse and guidance to his love of progress. Feeling that he knew but little, he longed to know more. He was not ashamed to learn. He remembered, that the temple of sacred science is entered by those only who bow low at its portals. His self-abasement was the secret of his success. It regulated his independence of mind. It led him to revere the authors whom he would not adore. Few men have cherished a deeper veneration than he for Calvin and the reformed divines. This veneration prompted him to examine their writings with rare diligence. He did not love to differ from them. He never aspired to be the leader of a sect. He did not vaunt over his discoveries, but was pleased whenever he ascertained that they had been anticipated by other writers. His humble claim was, that from the contradictory statements of Calvinistic standards, he had collated those which were consistent with each other, and had reduced them to a scheme, every part of which had by itself been explicitly or implicitly sanctioned by some Calvinist, but the whole of which had been consistently defended by no one. In his eightieth year, he addressed the following lowly reply to an epistle from Mr. Miller, and disclosed in it how little he had been influenced in his speculations by a desire for notoriety, or any censurable love of novelty.

"Newport, January 23, 1801. Reverend Sir: Yours of December 16 came to hand on the twelfth instant. The most proper and satisfactory answer to your questions, perhaps, will be, to refer you to my publications; the first of which was printed near half a century ago. You may, in them, see what doctrines I hold, and be able to judge wherein and how far I differ from those Calvinistic divines who have written before me. I believe that most of the doctrines, if not all, I have published, are to be found in the writings of former divines; viz., Calvin, Van Mastricht, Saurin, Boston, Manton, Goodwin, Owen, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, Willard, Ridgley, Shepard, Hooker, &c. These indeed did not fully explain some of those doctrines, which are asserted or implied in their writings; and many, if not most of them, are in some instances inconsistent with themselves, by advancing contrary doctrines.

"If I am in any measure an original in any thing I have written, it is in asserting, that the unregenerate, under the greatest convictions, and in all their external reformations and doings, are more criminal and guilty than they were in a state of security, and really do no duty; (all their moral actions are sin; this is necessarily implied in the doctrine of *total depravity*, which all Calvinists hold;) and that all true holiness consists in disinterested benevolence, and those affections which are implied in it; and that all that self-love which is not implied in disinterested benevolence, is sinful, and that in which all sin essentially and radically consists; that the original threatening, 'Thou shalt surely die,' does not mean or imply a separation between soul and body, but the destruction and misery of soul and body in hell forever, which is in Scripture called *the second death*, which the finally impenitent will suffer.

"But it is really no great matter who first advanced a doctrine; if it be agreeable to Scripture, it ought to be received; if not, let it be rejected.

"No scheme of doctrines has got the name of *Hopkintonian* by my consent or invention, or desire of any of my friends. This was the invention of the late Rev. William Hart, of Saybrook, who published some remarks on what Mr. Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and I had written, to which I replied, and the controversy perhaps was too personal. He was, to be sure, irritated; and wrote a pamphlet in which he mentioned a number of doctrines as mine, and set them in as bad a light as he could, by way of reproach; and to fasten an odium upon me and them, he gave them the name of *Hopkintonian doctrines*. This epithet has been since used both by friends and enemies. The latter and many others have, in many instances, used the term as carrying an odium with it, while they do not know what are the doctrines implied in it. — I am your friend and servant, S. H."

This letter modestly reconciles the contradictions which have so often been imputed to the Newport divine. "He claimed to be a disciple of Calvin," it is said, "and yet spent much of his life in contending against the Calvinists. He pretended to have made improvements in theology, and yet avows that all his improvements were known before his day. The same system, and yet an amended system! How can a man make advances, and still keep pace with those whom he has outrun?" It is very true that our modest divine regarded his theological scheme as consistent Calvinism, and yet as differing somewhat in its proportions, and in its sequences, from the prevalent Calvinism of the schools. It excluded some parts, which were repellent to other parts of the prevailing system. It carried the Genevan principles to their logical results. Hopkins was original in his combinations of old ideas. He used established truths in a new way. Here and there, this writer and that writer had suggested all which Hopkins taught; but he united their suggestions into a system which was new in its harmonies and completeness. It were easy to corroborate all of our author's peculiar doctrines, by quotations from the Reformed divines. He was wont to make these references in his own defence. His originality, then, lay in his eclecticism and in his logical inferences. He chose to regard Hopkinsianism as a statue found in an ancient block of marble. His own estimate of the relation between his conclusions and the premises which he had learned from Calvin, was expressed by his energetic pupil, Samuel Spring, in words which the "Hopkinsian Calvinists" have loved to quote: "It is evident," says Dr. Spring, "that Hopkinsian sentiments are only the genuine, flourishing, and fruitful branches of the Calvinistic tree. For we plead that there is no duty in the actions of sinners, because they are totally depraved. As total depravity, therefore, is the great pillar in the Calvinistic theory, there is no more difference between Calvinists and Hopkinsians, than there is between a tree and its branches, or between first principles and consequences. The broad foundation which supports our ample superstructure, was long since deeply and most firmly laid in the first principles of Calvinism. To support my theory, I need no first

principles, except those which Calvinists have adopted and improved against Pelagians and Arminians." *

Our author's confidence in the extent of divine truth influenced his theological inquiries. If all his writings had perished, the fruits of this confidence would still remain. It waked up the energies of men who "were giants in those days." The great success of Hopkins was in the spirit, more than in the letter of his teachings. His mind was fixed on God, and he did not believe it possible for any single generation to exhaust the science of the Infinite One. He looked with far deeper reverence upon the boundlessness of God's truth, than upon the faithfulness of scholars in their past explorations of it. "Men are a long time finding out," he says in his Journal, "what is in the natural world. This volume of science has been open to men in all ages. But new things are found out and seen in one age after another, which before lay hid, not discerned. And there is reason to think, there will be yet greater discoveries of things contained in this volume of nature, by the search and experience of inquisitive men, which have never yet been thought of. And why may not this be equally true of the volume of the moral world, the volume of divine revelation? Many things, many truths, may be contained in it, which have not yet been discovered; but remain to be found out by inquisitive men, who will rise hereafter."

Such hopeful passages enliven both his letters and his diary. The spirit of them prompted his own mind, and the minds of his pupils, to an unremitted study of the divine perfections. He favored all possible modes of penetrating into the truth; and his school have always been noted for sharp and severe investigation. He has been condemned for his metaphysics; and yet few divines have done more than he, in destroying the credit of that false metaphysics which has loaded the faith of men with cumbrous inventions. He believed that metaphysical science is susceptible of expansion. He has been censured for exciting a love of theological inquiry. The investigating habit does not result in unmingled good. But in the end, truth is better learned and more deeply felt, where the curiosity is cherished, than where it is repressed. There was far more of sound orthodoxy in New England when Hopkins closed his labors, than when he began them. The history of the future will record, that he has raised the tone of religious doctrine throughout the land. He has done this, not so much by his rhetoric or his logic, as by his spirit of hopeful study. This spirit has incited men to investigation. This investigation has led men into the truth. The boundaries of truth are enlarged by the fit indulgence of an inquisitive temper.

* See Spring's Disquisitions, pp. 44, 45, second edition. See the same passage quoted with approbation by Emmons in his paper on Hopkinsianism, published in Miss Hannah Adams's View of Religions, p. 130, third edition.

The inquisitiveness of Hopkins was proverbial. Had it been less eager, there would have been, during his life, less complaint of his novel speculations, but more distrust of the Bible, a narrower view of its teachings. Infidelity is the ultimate result of checking the desire for expanded knowledge. "There is nothing," says Dr. Arnold, "so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world is, by the very law of its creation, in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and corruption, that our business is to preserve and not to improve. It is the ruin of us all alike, individuals, schools, and nations." *

Our author's comprehensiveness of mind gave a peculiar character to his theological system. That capacious frontal development which marked his figure, indicated the type of his theology. As his personal qualities, his sternness and mildness for instance, have been thought to be incompatible with each other, so his creed, because so comprehensive, has been deemed self-contradictory. His great aim, however, was to form a self-consistent scheme. He disliked heterogeneous and fragmentary thoughts. Dr. Ashbel Green says of him: † "He is certainly a man of a subtle and discriminating mind. He is indeed more calculated for minute inquiries, than for comprehensive views. His mental optics seemed [seem?] formed to see small objects distinctly, but are unable to survey large ones. He sees parts, but not the whole. His love of distinguishing sometimes leads him to make distinctions where there are no differences. He separates, in reasoning, things which are never separated in fact." This portraiture of Dr. Hopkins is exactly the reverse of the truth. He was less remarkable for acuteness than for comprehensiveness of intellect. His analysis was less accurate than his generalization was extensive. His mind loved to expatiate on the vast and illimitable. His theology is, what it ought to be, the science of the great God; — the decrees, the sovereignty, the universal government of God, — above all, the infinite love of God in Christ. We take up his volumes with awe, for we know that they will present thoughts of vast compass. They will develop the *religious* sentiment which loves to enthrone Jehovah, and abase the creature. But with all his fondness for exalting the claims of God, our comprehensive divine unites an amiable desire to maintain the free agency of man. He brings together, in one extensive scheme, the fixed certainty of all events, and such a liberty of the human will as leads him often to say, that sinners "are under no inability, but what consists in their inexcusable, voluntary

* Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., p. 173, first Am. ed.
† Memoir, p. 240.

wickedness;" and that the unregenerate sinner "is under no kind of inability or difficulty that is in the way of his turning to God immediately, which the open profligate is not under, as a bar in the way of his reforming his wicked conduct immediately."*. Our author's theology was offensive to unrenewed men, because it held before them the sovereign dominion of the Creator on the one hand, and the doctrine of our natural ability on the other. The combination of these two truths has a rare power over the heart. Men dislike to hear, that the only reason why they do not submit to the sovereignty of Jehovah is, their own vile choice. They love to hear, that they are naturally unable to do what the law is said to require. This is a pillow for their sweetest sleep. Hopkins irritated them by taking the pillow away. "For," he says in his decisive style, "this doctrine of man's inability, as consisting in some difficulty in the way of holiness, which is independent of the will, and for which they are not wholly to blame, is as agreeable to the corrupt heart of man, as any Arminian or Pelagian doctrine whatsoever can be. How many of those who are called Calvinists have fled to this refuge of lies, and here are like to perish, God knows!"† And because our author was wont to speak thus, is he to be called an Arminian or a Pelagian? One great use of his writings is, to show, that the doctrine of man's entire freedom may be combined with that of his entire and certain sinfulness. The man who rejects either of these truths, merely for the sake of holding the other, is contracted, one-sided. It is because Hopkins was large-minded and large-hearted, that he held together what less capacious minds are tempted to put asunder. He asserted in the boldest terms, that God is the original Cause producing the certainty of sin; but he combined this assertion with another, that man is under no natural inability to be holy. He did not teach, that God produces wickedness in any such sense as implies that men are forced or compelled to be wicked; nor did he teach that men have natural power to be holy, in any such sense as implies that their sin is not made certain by the providence of God. We may not think that all his language and illustrations are wisely chosen for a scientific treatise,‡ but the *substance* of his teachings on these themes is neither more nor less than this: God so makes and preserves, and circumstances men, that the unregenerate do uniformly and certainly sin; their sin is made certain by the efficiency of Him who predestinated their whole moral course;§ but yet they are

* Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 296.

† Ib. p. 299.—A fundamental idea of our author's system is, that all our inability to obey the law is itself wickedness, and not the mere occasion of wickedness. See, for one expression of it, his System, vol. i. pp. 235, 309, 510.

‡ See pp. 29, 30, of this Memoir.

§ Hopkins asserts and proves, often, that his theory of the divine agency in sin is the same which is taught by the Westminster Assembly; see Hopkins's Works, new edition, vol. i. pp. 106–110.

as free as moral agents can be; their inability is the certainty of their sin, and their certain sin is their free choice. One of these doctrines explains the other. One of them prevents fatalism; the other excludes a "liberty of indifference" which is uncontrollable by the Deity. In their reciprocal bearings upon each other, both of these doctrines combined make out the truth to which our comprehensive theologian devoted a large part of his life. Future generations will honor him, for having so asserted our natural power to do our duty, as to render it preposterous for men to brand this dogma with Pelagianism. His rare merit is, that he has defended not one truth alone, but many truths; and has proved that the divine and human action are harmoniously blended. He stands out as a promontory in the sea, around which and against which the waves of theological misrepresentation break and foam without avail. If the assertion of man's ability commensurate with his duty, be Pelagianism, then Hopkins was a Pelagian, — and the very sound of this last clause refutes it. If the assertion that God causes the certainty of all acts, be fatalism, then fatalism is consistent with the doctrine so often avowed by Hopkins, that "the creature acts as freely as if there were no agent concerned but himself, and his exercises are as virtuous and holy, and it is as really and as much his own virtue and holiness, and he is as excellent and praiseworthy, as if he did not depend on divine influences for these exercises, and they were not the effect of the operation of God." *

Sect. XLIV. WRITINGS OF HOPKINS.

"I have thrown together these recollections of a man, who has been crowded out of men's minds by the thronging events and interests of our time, but who must always fill an important place in our ecclesiastical history." So writes one † who had a decided aversion to the creed of Hopkins, but knew the historical value of his writings. Had they no other merit, they would deserve to be studied for the instruction which they impart with regard to our Dogmatic History. No man can rightly appreciate the theology of New England, either in its progress or in its present condition, without understanding the works of this veteran divine. That these works are free from every mistake, the most zealous admirer of them will not pretend. They combine, however, in a more than usual degree, the vigor of a theological pioneer, with the accuracy of a critical philosopher. They could not have accomplished their predestined good, unless they had been strong, positive, aggressive; and

* Works, new edition, vol. i. p. 139.
† Dr. Channing, in his Works, vol. iv. p. 352.

if they have these excellences, can we expect them to possess also the gentle and mellowed character of treatises composed in pacific times? They broke up the green-sward. They levelled the uneven places. They encountered a rough opposition. They subdued many an obstacle. It were strange if, in this stern contest with difficulties, they had preserved themselves immaculate. Equally strange were it, if they had not exerted so much influence over our New England theology, as to become a part of our theological history. In this respect, they will always retain an interest for one who aims to be an accomplished divine. It is important, then, for the historian, as well as the theologian, to know the circumstances in which our author performed his theological labors. Therefore, let us now glance at the character, object, and influence, of his various writings.

A. *Discourses on Sin.*

We have already seen,* that about the time of President Edwards's dismissal from Stockbridge, Hopkins was engaged in a singular controversy with a parishioner at Great Barrington, in regard to the divine purposes respecting sin. In a twelvemonth after the close of that dispute, and in the thirty-eighth year of his age, our author published a pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled:

"Sin, through Divine Interposition, an Advantage to the Universe, and yet this no Excuse for Sin or Encouragement to it; Illustrated and Proved: and God's Wisdom and Holiness in the Permission of Sin, and that his Will herein is the same with his Revealed Will, Shown and Confirmed: in Three Sermons, from Rom. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., a Minister of the Gospel at Sheffield, 1759."

These Three Sermons were reprinted at Boston, in 1773, "by J. Kneeland, next to the Treasurer's Office in Milk Street." They were also republished, about the same time, in Edinburgh, Scotland. The title of the sermons was, as their author narrates in 1796, "so shocking to many, that they would read no farther. And many who read the sermons, were far from falling in with the sentiment advanced. But few had studied the point, and it was a new doctrine to many. Yet no one undertook publicly to confute it. And many who read the sermons were convinced of the truth exhibited in them; and thought the reasoning from Scripture to be unanswerable, and the sentiments which were advanced to be important and useful. And this conviction has been spreading from that time to this; and the most who are serious and attentive, whether ministers or others, approve of this publication, so far as I can judge. And light on this subject has been, and still is increasing."†

These sermons are of some historical importance. They show,

* On pp. 68, 69, of this Memoir. † Sketches, p. 93.

in the first place, that the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins were suggested by his religious feelings. One of his young children was very sick, and was not expected to live more than a few hours. He had provided a faithful and trustworthy nurse for it; physicians had exhausted their skill upon it; and at night, when the father could do no more, he retired to his study, and consoled himself with the thought, that all the evils of the world would be overruled for good. Rather than look on the suffering child, and pour out his unavailing regrets, he chose to meditate on the holy purpose of God, in exposing children and adults to sin and pain. These meditations he afterwards incorporated into the three discourses, by which he first attracted the public attention to himself as a theological author. He wrote, not under the influence of a merely metaphysical theory, but from the impulses of a heart panting for solace from the afflictions which result from sin.

In the second place, these discourses prove, that the first opposition which Hopkins, as an author, encountered from his brethren, arose from the *Calvinistic* features of his theology. He advanced nothing peculiarly severe on the doctrine of sin overruled for good. The Calvinistic standards abound with expressions far more unpopular, than those contained in these sermons. Hopkins was not distinguished from Edwards and Bellamy in the censures which were heaped upon him; but the well-known triumvirate were universally regarded as contending for the same doctrine on this, as on other topics. "So much of late," said an ingenious author of that day, "has been written to persuade us that the existence of all the wickedness of men and devils is agreeable to God's will, necessary to his glory, and for the benefit of the universe, that I found, by reading such [writers] as E——s, H——s, B——y, and I know not whom, my abhorrence of sin did much abate, and a more favorable idea of vice grew up insensibly in my mind; as he who often converses with atheists and swearers, will find his horror and detestation of their language daily lessen. Yet my scruples are not quite gone; but I find a strong suspicion that all they can say to beget in me a good opinion of sin, is a mere device of the father of lies."* This

* See pp. 25, 26, of "A Preservative against the Doctrine of Fate," in opposition to Edwards on the Will. Boston, 1770.

In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, Hopkins says: "Mr. Dana, of Wal——rd, has just published two sermons, preached at Cambridge, last May, in which he has given a bold stroke at you and me, for what we have wrote on the permission of sin, though he has not named us."

A few months after Hopkins had printed his Three Sermons, he sent to Bellamy a letter, which illustrates the intimacy known to exist between the two divines, and the annoyances which they endured from the *espionage* of their common enemy. — "Yours of the fifth of November," says Hopkins, "I found at one of our taverns, on the twenty-third. It was opened, and one enclosed to Mr. Kneeland [publisher of the sermons] was opened also. The landlord says, he found them in his counter, on the floor, and who left them there neither he nor any of his family knows." — "I am much obliged to you for your good opinion of my sermons," etc.

is precisely the objection which has been made for centuries to the Calvinistic system. That system goes even so far as to assert, that sin is inflicted on man as his punishment. Must not a punishment inflicted by Jehovah be useful?

Thirdly, these discourses illustrate their author's reverence for God, and abhorrence of moral evil. Whatever men may think of his Calvinistic theory, that sin is an occasion without which it is impossible for creatures and their Creator to secure the highest conceivable good, men must approve of his teachings that sin, *as sin*, is merely pernicious, but the Providence of God with regard to it is merely beneficial; that whatever man does in violating the law tends in itself to evil, and nothing but evil, but that whatever God does in so causing the certainty of sin as to prevent its natural necessity, and in so counteracting its tendencies as to preclude the evil which it is fitted to produce, tends to the highest good which Omnipotence can secure; that although sin in its own nature tends to nothing useful, yet the acts of God in making it certain though avoidable, and then in resisting its appropriate influence, do lead to more useful results than Omnipotence can otherwise secure; that God could not have promoted the best interests of his kingdom, unless he had so planned the world that sin would certainly be committed; and yet the welfare of his kingdom does not result from the moral evil viewed in itself, but rather from the divine plan of thwarting the moral evil. "In a word, 'tis not the tendency of sin, as such, that Mr. Edwards is here speaking of [as beneficial], but the tendency of God's permitting it, and holding it in his hands, and overruling it to answer his own wise and good ends by it."*

B. *Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel.*

In our author's forty-fourth year, he published his first controversial volume. He says of it:

"In the year 1765, I published a book of one hundred and forty-five pages, octavo, the title of which was, 'An Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel: whether any of them are made to the Exercises and Doings of Persons in an unregenerate State. Containing Remarks on two Sermons published by Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, [entitled "Striving to enter in at the Strait Gate, explained and inculcated; and the Connection of Salvation therewith, proved from the Holy Scripture." Also, a brief Inquiry into the use of Means; showing their Necessity in order to Salvation; and what is the true Ground of Encouragement for Sinners diligently to attend on them.' Published in Boston.] In these sermons Dr. Mayhew attempted to prove that there are promises to the doings of the unregenerate. In the tenth and last section of this book, I attempted to show what is the design and end of the use of means, with respect to the unregenerate, in order to their salvation; where I observed, that the end was not to render the unregenerate better or less sinful while they continued unregenerate; for persons while they continued to

* See Hopkins's Appendix to the above-named Three Sermons.

reject the gospel, which all the unregenerate did under all the means used with them, and with all the light and conviction they might have, did not become less sinners, but greater and more guilty, whatever external reformation might take place. Though this truth had been at least implicitly asserted in the writings of many Calvinists, and in their preaching, yet it had not been so explicitly and particularly asserted and explained by Calvinistic writers and preachers in general; and many, in contradiction to what they at other times said, and to true Calvinism, said things which implied the contrary, and represented the convinced and externally reformed sinner, though unregenerate, and continuing to reject the gospel, as a much less sinner, and less guilty than the unawakened, secure sinner. Therefore, though Dr. Mayhew, who was not a Calvinist, made no reply to my remarks on his sermons, yet many professed Calvinists thought the sentiment I had advanced was contrary to the truth, and of very bad tendency." *

In the fifth, seventh, and other sections of this Inquiry, our author first advances the doctrine, that no change of nature, antecedent to the change of moral act, entitles the subject of it to the promises of life; that regeneration, if viewed as distinct from conversion, is not in itself an improvement of *moral* character; but that moral character lies in the exercises of the heart. He believed that there is a certain state of the soul, preparing the unregenerate to disobey the law; that this state of the soul is in itself neither holy nor sinful, but that the disobedience, being active, is sinful; that in regeneration the state is changed; that the soul is passive in this change; that there is in the regenerate a certain state of the soul inclining them to obey the law; that this state is neither holy nor sinful, but that the obedience, being active, is holy; and that this change from disobedient to obedient act, is conversion, to which alone the promises of the gospel are addressed. In one of the numerous papers, on which our author penned his theological meditations, are found the following statements:

"Question I. Are infants united to Christ? If they are, how is this union brought about?

"Answer. They are not *actually* united to Christ, but *virtually* so, if regenerated. They are actually united to him as soon as they come to act, which takes place as the natural and necessary fruit of conversion.

"Question II. If a doctrinal knowledge of gospel truth is necessary in order to conversion, how then can infants be converted?

"Answer. Infants are not *converted*: they may be regenerated, but not *converted*, till they come to the knowledge of the truth." [Of course, then, Hopkins believed that infants are saved in a manner differing, in one respect, from the manner in which converted adults are saved: see p. 103 of this Memoir.]

C. *Reply to Mills on the Character of the Sinner's Acts.*

The most noted peculiarity of Hopkinsianism is the doctrine, that sinners have no promises addressed to them as such, and they should not be exhorted to perform any act in the character of sinners, and

* Sketches, pp. 93, 94, 95.

should be urged to perform, without delay, those acts only which involve holiness. They ought to use means, but to use them in a holy way. In his discussion of this topic and its correlates, Dr. Hopkins achieved his most signal victories. Speaking of the opposition to his criticisms on Mayhew, our author says: "Mr. Mills, of Ripton, in Connecticut, was greatly alarmed, and thought the doctrine I had published was new and strange, contrary to the Bible, and tended to great mischief. He therefore thought it his duty to oppose, and attempt to confute me, and published a book of one hundred and twenty-four pages against me, in the year 1767." *

The title of Mr. Mills's work is, of itself, a small volume, characteristic of his times. It proceeds thus:

"An Inquiry concerning the State of the Unregenerate under the Gospel; whether on every rising degree of internal Light, Conviction, and Amendment of Life, they are (while unregenerate) undoubtedly, on the whole, more vile, odious, and abominable (in God's sight) than they would have been had they continued secure and at ease, going on in their Sins, under the same external Means of Light; containing Remarks on the Tenth Section of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Hopkins's late Answer to Doctor Mayhew's Sermon on Striving to enter in at the strait Gate; intitled 'A brief Inquiry into the Use of Means.' By Jedidiah Mills, Minister of the Gospel in Ripton, Stratford. [Published in] New Haven: Printed by B. Mecom, 1767."

The Preface of this once noted "Inquiry" is dated November 5, 1766. The work was published in the early part of 1767. At this time, there was a great commotion in Hopkins's parish at Great Barrington. The public controversy with regard to his doctrines, made this commotion the more ungovernable. He was dismissed January 18, 1769, and immediately betook himself to the refutation of Mr. Mills. Without a parish to sustain him, with a severe opposition of the clergy, and a deep-seated prejudice among the churches against his doctrines,† with but little prospect of ever being able to secure another settlement, Mr. Hopkins was led to look upon this controversy, at this juncture, as peculiarly hostile to the cause of true religion; and he therefore expressed his feelings with great decision. His subsequent comments on the spirit of his Reply are characteristic.

"In the year 1769," he says, "I published my answer to Mr. Mills of one hundred eighty-four pages, octavo, in a small, comprehensive type. The

* Sketches, p. 95.

† See p. 76 of this Memoir. The line between the old school and the new had been distinctly drawn, for several years. Bellamy and Hopkins were, since the death of Edwards, the stoutest living champions of the new school. There was often a struggle between the two parties, when a vacant pulpit was to be filled. "A certain clergyman, in the county of Litchfield," — writes Hopkins to Bellamy, March 18, 1766, — "I hear, told a Sheffield man, that Sheffield [a destitute parish] might not get a minister unless he was in a straight line from Great Barrington to Bethlem. This being spread, some begin to say, 'We shall never get a minister, so long as Messrs. Bellamy and Hopkins are our advisers.'"

following was the title of it: 'The true State and Character of the Unregenerate, stripped of all Misrepresentation and Disguise: [a Reply to Mr. Mills's Inquiry, etc. Printed at New Haven.'] I believe this book, with what was afterwards published on the same subject, was the means of spreading and giving much light and conviction with respect to the real character and doings of the unregenerate, and has in a great measure put a stop to exhorting the unregenerate to do duty in order to obtain regeneration, which was very common among preachers before that time. Some of my friends thought I treated Mr. Mills with too much severity, in taking pains to show how many self-contradictions were to be found in his writings, and to discover his weakness, &c.; since I, as well as others, believed he was a good man, and had done much good, and the opposition he had made to me was more owing to his weakness and his old age, and his speculative error, than to his opposition of heart to the truth. And I believe there is something of this kind which ought, all things considered, to be left out, or otherwise expressed; though I had no perception of it in the time of it, but thought I was conscientiously careful to leave out all personal reflections and every thing which was not necessary in the best manner to expose error and vindicate the truth. But how deceitful is the heart! Who can understand his errors?" *

The severity, for which the venerable author thus apologizes, and which is mildness itself in comparison with the style of many subsequent disputes among theologians, seems to have arisen from his honesty. He abhorred all controversial arts, all attempts to excite the *odium theologicum* against a divine. He was at this time suffering persecution in consequence of such appeals to popular prejudice. There is a real eloquence, in some of his indignant protests against one common stratagem of theological disputants:

"When I have attended," he says, "to this method Mr. Mills has taken in his dispute with me, and the way in which he has managed it, (which seems almost peculiar to himself,) and how he has not only tacked Sandeman upon my back, and took care to keep him fast there, and held him up in sight from beginning to end, but has also ranked me with Arminians and Quakers, yea, with the devil himself;† I say, when I have attended to this, it has brought to my mind the method the Roman Catholics have often taken with Protestant martyrs who were to be put to death; that is, to place a large cap on their head, on which are painted a number of hideous monsters and ugly devils, on purpose to raise the indignation of the crowd against them. It is to be observed, however, that they do this to those only who they really think deserve such treatment, they being in their view as bad at least as the devil himself; whereas Mr. Mills has done all this to his '*dear brother*, and *worthy author*, and one whom he *highly esteems*.'" ‡

D. *Reply to Hart's Dialogue.—Epithet "Hopkinsian."*

Mr. Mills was effectually silenced by Hopkins's celebrated Reply. But in the latter part of 1769, Rev. William Hart, the friend of Dr. Stiles, published a pamphlet of seventy-one pages, entitled, "Brief Remarks on a Number of False Propositions and Dangerous Errors,

* Sketches, pp. 95, 96.

† Speaking of Mr. Hopkins's book, Mr. Mills says, "Nor is it in my power to doubt, that the grand enemy of Christ's cause and precious souls, puts his hearty Amen to it."

‡ Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 351.

which are spreading in the Country; collected out of sundry Discourses lately published, wrote by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Hopkins. Written by Way of Dialogue, by William Hart, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Saybrook," [Connecticut. Printed at] New London, 1769. The title page bears among its mottoes, Job lxii. 7, 8. This pamphlet is, as its author was, very respectable. Before Hopkins replied to it, he wrote thus to Dr. West:

"January 12, 1750. [When my Reply] is finished, I am to send it to Mr. Hart, of Preston, and he will get it printed, if he and Mr. Austin approve of it. I am sorry you and a number of others could not see it, before it goes to the press, (if it does go,) for I think my judicious friends might be of great service to me in this way; and now believe my Reply to Mr. Mills would have appeared to better advantage, had you and some others spent considerable time upon it, in correcting it. The first and general complaint against that, I perceive, is, that I put on a haughty, supercilious air, by which I discover the pride of my heart, — and treat *good old* Mr. Mills in an unmannerly, saucy manner, looking *down* upon him with contempt, &c. And some of my judicious friends say, (and perhaps *all* of them now *think*,) it might have been wrote in a better style and manner, and without *one* witty sarcasm, or any thing that should look like an ill-natured reflection, to his best friends; but, on the contrary, with an air of benevolence and tenderness which especially becomes those who have professedly espoused the most *benevolent* scheme. *They* ought, above all others, to avoid every thing that looks like selfishness and ill nature, and [to] distinguish themselves in *generous benevolence*, &c. I have not read my reply, since I have heard the objection; but am now ready to think it is not wholly without grounds."

Hopkins's Reply appeared in a pamphlet of thirty-one closely printed pages, with the following title: "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue; in a Letter to a Friend. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Minister of the Gospel." New London, 1770. It bears, as its motto, Acts xxiv. 14. It must be confessed, that some parts of this Reply are written in a more caustic style than the Dialogue of Mr. Hart seems to have required. There are two circumstances, however, which account for the severity of those passages. One is, that Mr. Hart's Dialogue appeared to have been written with some design to prevent Hopkins's resettlement in the ministry, and that the free circulation of it in Newport did in fact excite the early revolution of the First Church against him.* Another circumstance is, that soon after Mr. Hart had published his Dialogue, "there was," says Dr. Hopkins, "a small pamphlet published, which was doubtless written by the same Mr. Hart, which was written in a sarcastical way, without argument or reason, in which the doctrines I, and others who agreed with me, had published were misrepresented; attempting to set them in a ridiculous light. And with a particular design, as it appeared, to disgrace me before the public, he called them *Hopkintonian* doctrines. This is the original of this epithet. And since that time, all who embrace the Calvinistic doctrines which

* See p. 76 of this Memoir.

were published by President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, Dr. West of Stockbridge, and myself, have been called *Hopkintonians*, or *Hopkinsians*. Thus I am become the head of a denomination, who have since greatly increased, and in which thousands are included, and a large number of ministers, who, I believe, are the most sound, consistent, and thorough Calvinists; and who in general sustain as good a character, as to their morality, preaching, and personal religion, as any set of clergymen whatever, and are most popular where there appears to be most attention to religion; and, at the same time, are most hated, opposed, and spoken against, by Arminians, Deists, and persons who appear to have no religion. And I believe, though this denomination or name originated from no such design, that it has proved an advantage to truth and true religion; as it has given opportunity and been the occasion of collecting those who embrace the scheme of Christianity exhibited in the fore-mentioned publications, and ranking them under one standard. It has excited the attention and promoted inquiry into the principles and doctrines which are embraced and held by those of this denomination, by which light and conviction have been spread and propagated." *

Mr. Hopkins took no public notice of this pamphlet, which originated the appellation "Hopkinsian;" but his "Animadversions" seem to have been tinctured by his abhorrence of its spirit. To these Animadversions Mr. Hart replied, in "A Letter to the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, occasioned by his Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue, in which some of his Misrepresentations of Facts and of other Things are corrected. By the Author of that Dialogue. 'He that is first in his own cause, seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him.' New London, 1770." Mr. Hart accuses our author again of "new doctrines," "new divinity," "Calvinism improved," etc.; and complains of having been "treated in an injurious, unfriendly, and ungentlemanly manner." "Indeed, sir," he says, "you do not write in a good spirit." Of Mr. Hart's spirit, the following extract from his Rejoinder will give an illustration; — rather more unfavorable, however, than is the general character of his defence. The extract proves two important facts: first, that the epithet "Hopkinsian" was originally applied to the New Divinity in special reference to its doctrine of the utter sinfulness of all acts preceding regeneration, and the consequent necessity of enjoining immediate repentance; secondly, that Hopkinsianism was then supposed by its most intelligent opponents, as well as friends, to be indissolubly connected with Edwardeanism. If one falls, the other was thought to fall. Hopkins was not fifty years old, and had not published his most important works, when the New Theology began to be called after his name.

* Sketches, pp. 97, 98.

"I observe, sir," says Mr. Hart, in his letter, "you complain of injury and falsehood, in that I sometimes call the new doctrines Sandemanian errors. When you objected this to me at my house, I answered, that the new scheme and Sandeman's are near akin, coincident in some things, and both come to much the same issue. More than this is not pretended in the Dialogue, though in some particular passages I may have expressed myself too loosely. If your smiting was that of the righteous, I would esteem it as excellent oil. But, unhappily for you, you are come abroad this time, in the spirit of a Jew at the close of his fast. As the teachers of the *new* scheme of doctrine had not given it a *new* name, I was a little in doubt what name it ought to be called by. Calvinism I could not call it, without misleading my readers. It appeared to me much nearer related to Sandeman than to Calvin; so I sometimes loosely called it the Sandemanian scheme. But, since it displeases, I forbear. Please, sir, to give the *poor stranger* a proper name. It is your right to name your own children. If it is called after your own name, I believe nobody will be displeased.

"You, sir, labor to convince your readers that I have embraced several of Mr. Sandeman's distinguishing doctrines, and know it not. (p. 14.) This is pleasant enough. First of all, you represented me as agreeing with the devil, (p. 8;) now with Mr. Sandeman. If your wrath rises a little higher, I fear you will undertake next to prove, that I have also embraced Mr. Hopkins's sentiments, and know it not. You have actually done so towards the close of your letter.

"Speaking of Mr. Edwards's piece on the Nature of Virtue, you observe, that his notion of virtue and natural conscience, &c., 'are *fundamental* to the scheme of doctrines I oppose.' They are so! And his notion of virtue is new and strange, and the scheme you have built upon it [is] new. Both must stand or fall together. You ask, 'Why did not Mr. Hart take this Dissertation in hand, and censure and confute it?' This would be laying the axe to the root of the tree.' It would. I will also tell you why I did not. I had not then seen that Dissertation, though I had heard of it. If I had seen that and your Sermons, before I wrote, my Dialogue would, in some respects, have been more perfect. I have since read that Dissertation, and laid the axe to the root of the tree: and, perhaps, shall publish some remarks upon it, showing that Mr. Edwards's notions of virtue, of the *primary* and *secondary* beauty of moral things, &c., are wrong, imaginary, and fatally destructive of the foundations of morality and true religion. If I do, I hope to have the piece out of the press by next commencement. Since you think this will be doing something, and that I ought to have done it before, I presume this intelligence will please you, and that you will subscribe for a dozen copies, at least."

It is interesting to look through the dust and smoke of a theological controversy, to the solitary musings of the controversialists. We have often heard, that no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*. But we must say, that the private disclosures of Hopkins are a more striking proof of his honest regard for the glory of Jehovah, than is to be found in his public manifestations. The nearer we come to him, the more must we honor him. He was assailed so violently, that his ministerial usefulness seemed to be destroyed. "I think it most probable," he writes, January 12, 1770, "that I shall return to private life, if I live much longer, unless there shall be a remarkable turn in religious affairs in New England. They are rousing more and more every where, and [are] determined to crush and extirpate the *new orthodox heresy*." Very seldom has an American divine been called, like Hopkins, to contend abstrusely and metaphysically for

his official reputation and his daily bread. Yet how heavenly were his thoughts during this severe contest! It was in the very thickest of it, that he wrote the meditations on pp. 73–76 of this Memoir. The following extracts from his Diary do not seem to have come from a dismissed pastor, whose enemies were toiling to bar the doors of the churches against him:

"Newport, Thursday evening, January 18, 1770. Have begun to write remarks upon Mr. Hart, and think it my duty to prosecute it as fast as I can, supposing I am called to it by God. O that God would guide my heart and my pen through the whole!

"Lord's Day, January 21. Preached from Heb. ii. 3: 'How shall we escape,' &c. Had freedom of speech, and now feel calm and easy in my mind, as having in some measure declared the truth clearly and plainly, and recommended myself to men's consciences in the sight of God. I pray God to give his blessing to what has been said. May it be the means of salvation to some poor soul.

"Saturday, January 27. I seemed to have some sense, to-day, of God's goodness to me. It surpasses all expression — all thought. O, how reasonable, how comely is praise! Let me spend an eternity in this!"

The man who wrote thus, and felt thus in his closet, could not himself lie buried, nor let the truth lie buried under the missiles of his adversaries. Nearly all the main principles for which he was thus sacrificing his temporal interests, in this controversy on the use of means, are now generally adopted by the most successful preachers of New England.

E. *Work on Holiness.*

Rev. William Hart published, in 1771, his valuable "Remarks on President Edwards's Dissertation concerning the Nature of True Virtue." He endeavored to disprove the Edwardean theory, and thus to undermine the foundation of Hopkinsianism. He often alluded to Hopkins, as the chief representative of Edwards. About the same time, Dr. Moses Mather took up the pen against the doctrines of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins, three men who are to stand or fall together. Dr. Hemmenway was loudly called upon, by many Calvinists of his time, to come forth in aid of Mr. Hart. Hemmenway had an exalted reputation as a scholar and divine. His friend Buckminster said of him: He "was a sincere and firm Calvinist of the old school, though candid and charitable to such as had their doubts and scruples upon some of its doctrines. He was alarmed at some of the strange cions [scions] which modern Calvinism has attempted to graft upon this stock, and, by the subtleties of metaphysics, to prove that they were legitimate sprouts from its venerable roots."* In 1767, Dr. Hemmenway had published seven

* See p. 16 of an excellent "Sermon delivered at the Interment of the Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Wells, (District of Maine.) By Jo-

sermons, on the obligation of the unregenerate to strive for eternal life. He, of course, regarded Hopkins's Reply to Mills as a virtual reply to those sermons. Accordingly, in 1772, he printed a volume of a hundred and twenty-seven octavo pages, entitled: "Vindication of the power, obligation, and encouragement of the unregenerate to attend the means of grace: — Against the exceptions of Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins." In reply to these various attacks from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine, our author published, in his fifty-second year, a volume of two hundred and twenty pages, entitled: "An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness, with an Appendix, containing an Answer to the Rev. Mr. William Hart's Remarks on President Edwards's Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue; and brief Remarks on some Things the Rev. Mr. Mather has lately published. Also, an Answer to the Rev. Mr. Hemmenway's Vindication, &c. By Samuel Hopkins, M. A., ... Newport, R. I. 1773." . . . . . He rightly judged, that the differences between himself and his opponents resulted from their respective views on the nature of holiness. His Treatise on this subject was republished in 1791, in an edition of fifteen hundred copies. Mr. Hart and Dr. Mather made no rejoinder to this Reply; but Dr. Hemmenway published, in 1774, a hundred and sixty-six pages of "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Hopkins's Answer to a Tract, entitled, 'A Vindication,'" etc. In the conclusion of his Remarks, Dr. Hemmenway says, "Truth is not afraid of giants." These words betray his conviction that he had fallen into the grasp of a giant. He was an able man, but Hopkins had the better cause. Therefore, Dr. Hemmenway was driven to the well-understood methods of a defeated controversialist. He heaps upon our author injurious charges, of ignorance, pride, anger, Arminianism, Pelagianism, *et id omne genus;* accuses him of denying original sin, and condemns both him and Edwards for their remarks on Ability, etc. As Hopkins took no notice of Mr. Hart's personal assault in 1770, so he passed over in silence the vituperative Reply of Dr. Hemmenway. He says that the Reply "was not much read, and had but little influence on the minds of any."* Dr. Hemmenway lived to regret and to confess his fault, in assailing Hopkins with so much acrimony. It must be conceded, however, that Hopkins appeared to feel rather too conscious of his superiority to Hemmenway, and wrote against him in a style of occasionally too severe reprimand. His honest contempt for weak, inconsistent reasoning was mistaken for a haughty, domineering temper. His severity, however, was far less than that of many controversialists, who have lived in a more refined age.

seph Buckminster, D. D. 'He was a good man.' 'A great man has fallen.'—1811." Dr. Buckminster was the father of the celebrated Unitarian preacher, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, of Boston.

* Sketches, pp. 99, 100.

Hopkins's Theory of Holiness was assailed by an English writer, in the Theological Magazine, vol. ii. pp. 139, seq., and defended in the same Magazine, vol. iii. pp. 274, seq. To this Reply the British divine published a Rejoinder, in vol. iii. pp. 418, seq., and before a surrejoinder could be prepared, the Magazine was discontinued.

With his Treatise on Holiness, the controversial career of our author, as a theologian, ended. In his old age, he looked back upon this career with peculiar satisfaction. "Dr. Hopkins, in conversing with me on his past history," says Channing, "reverted more frequently to his religious controversies, than to any other event of his life, and always spoke as a man conscious of having gained the victory; and in this, I doubt not, that he judged justly. He was true, as I have said, to his principles, and carried them out fearlessly to their consequences, whilst his opponents wished to stop half way." *

F. *Sermon on the Divinity of Christ.*

Our author's theological forecast, his quickness to discern the beginnings of error, and to oppose it in its very inception, are strikingly manifest in a sermon preached at Boston, in his forty-seventh year. He says of it:

"In 1768, a sermon which I preached in the Old South Meeting-house, in Boston, was published at the desire of a number of the hearers. The title of it is, 'The Importance and Necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the Extent of his high and glorious Character.' The text [is] Hebrews iii. 1. It was composed with a design to preach it in Boston, as I expected soon to go there, under a conviction that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston." †

Sixty-two years after this sermon was published, it was reviewed in the Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. iii. pp. 582–591, and its prophetic character was distinctly commended. It is noteworthy, that the very man whose writings are sometimes said to have prepared the way for Unitarianism among us, was the first to sound the alarm in regard to it, more than forty years before it had awakened a general opposition in our orthodox community. It was the resolute, uncompromising spirit of such discourses as this, which led an opponent to say of our author: "He was a singularly blameless man, with the exception of intolerance towards those who differed from him." ‡

G. *Sermons on Law and Regeneration.*

In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, our author writes:

[I have recently] "preached at Boston, Salem, ———, Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury, I imagine generally to good acceptance. They are much

* Works, vol. iv. p. 350. Dr. Channing proceeds to give a synopsis of the Hopkinsian controversy; but in that synopsis we cannot agree with him.

† Sketches, p. 95. ‡ Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 352.

more religious, and zealous to hear preaching at the east of Boston, than in any other part of New England. Two sermons which I preached at Ipswich are [likely] to be printed. I send you some of the proposals. I have more, which I propose to carry to the commencement. If you will wait for me, I will endeavor to be at your house Monday night."

These two sermons were printed in a pamphlet of sixty-five pages, in 1768, and reprinted in 1793. The title of the first edition is:

"Two Discourses: I. On the Necessity of the Knowledge of the Law of God, in order to the Knowledge of Sin. II. A particular and critical Inquiry into the Cause, Nature, and Means of that Change in which men are born of God. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Minister of the Gospel in Great Barrington. Boston: Printed and sold by William M'Alpine, about midway between the Governor's and Dr. Gardiner's, Marlborough Street. 1768."

In the third division of the second of these discourses, our author teaches the moral innocence of all states preceding choice; and it is noticeable that this doctrine elicited but little comment from the multitude who opposed him. Even Dr. Hemmenway uttered only a feeble protest against these discourses. In a note to the second of them, (see vol. iii. p. 553, of Hopkins's Works,) our author expresses his doubt, whether all that lies back of moral exercises may not be resolved into a mere constitution or law of nature. He declares that "it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to form any distinct and clear idea" of a passive "principle, taste, temper, disposition, habit, &c." As early, then, as 1767, the germ of Emmonism was found in the New Divinity.* At this time, Dr. Emmons was a member of the senior class at Yale College. When Emmons had been only three months a licentiate, and before he had made any impression on the theology of our land, Mr. Hopkins wrote the following words to Dr. West: "January 12, 1770. Messrs. Smalley, Hart, and Austin are much opposed to the *new* notion of no spiritual substance, which they call *Berkshire Divinity*. The two latter insist upon it, that such a notion is inconsistent with what I have published concerning regeneration; and that according to this, regeneration is nothing but conversion, and is wholly by light. I wish you would turn your thoughts a little on this subject. I should be sorry if the *few* Edwardeans should get into divisions among themselves." This letter proves that the Exercise Scheme, which *took no notice of* (whether or not it allowed the existence of) any nature or state back of the will, was not an invention of Dr. Emmons. The letter also proves that Hopkins was not so sensitive

* The differences between Hopkins and Emmons pertained *chiefly* to other subjects than those of sin, ability, etc. Thus, after the publication of one of Emmons's most important volumes, Hopkins writes to West: "October 17, 1800. Have you seen Dr. Emmons's late volume of sermons? I differ from him on two points, which perhaps you do not; viz. the sonship of Jesus Christ, and the perfection but inconstancy of the holy exercises of Christians; their imperfection consisting wholly in the latter." Hopkins was more particularly sensitive to what he regarded as Emmons's error on the subject of baptism; and wrote an essay against the supposed error, but after reading the essay to Emmons, concluded not to print it.

as Smalley and Hart, with regard to the scheme, which professed an utter ignorance of a passive state or temper occasioning holiness or sin. The principles of this scheme had, in fact, been intimated in the above-mentioned note to Hopkins's two discourses. He looked upon it, as a whole, with more of distrust, and even of respect, than of positive aversion.* The letter further suggests, that while Hopkins opposed the prevalent Calvinism of New England, and asserted that regeneration is performed without the instrumentality of divine truth, some of his followers, as West, Emmons, Spring, coincided with that Calvinism, so far forth as to assert that regeneration is not performed without the instrumentality of divine truth. They meant by regeneration what Hopkins meant by conversion. So curiously have the systems of our divines been intertangled with each other. In their nomenclature on this theme, Hopkins was farther from the New England Calvinism of his day than were his disciples, West, Emmons, Spring!

The life of Hopkins was a battle. Every thing which he published was opposed by some one of the parties then in the field. The above-named two discourses were violently assailed in a political newspaper. Jonathan Edwards, Junior, then a young man of twenty-four, came to the rescue, and wrote a spirited defence of his revered teacher. The controversy was too personal, and was exciting in the highest degree.

II. *Work on Future Punishment.*

In his sixty-second year, our author published an octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-four pages, entitled:

"An Inquiry concerning the Future State of those who die in their Sins: wherein the Dictates of Scripture and Reason upon this important Subject are carefully considered; and whether endless Punishment be consistent with Divine Justice, Wisdom, and Goodness. In which, also, objections are stated and answered. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport. 1783."

The work was written several years before its publication. In his memoir of himself, our author remarks: "I published that book at that time, because the doctrine of universal salvation was preached and propagated by a number, and began to spread in the country." † In the fourth section of this Inquiry, the author says of the wicked: "The smoke of their torment shall ascend up in the sight of the blessed forever and ever; and serve, as a most clear glass, always before their eyes, to give them a constant, bright, and most affecting view of all these. And all this display of the divine character and glory will be in favor of the redeemed, and most entertaining, and give the highest pleasure to all who love God, and raise *their* hap-

* See pp. 176, 200, of this Memoir. † Sketches, p. 101.

piness to ineffable heights, whose felicity consists, summarily, in the knowledge and enjoyment of God." Again, he says, that "this eternal punishment reflects such light on the divine character," and "makes such a bright display" of the Redeemer's worthiness, etc., "that, should it cease, and this fire could be extinguished, it would in a great measure obscure the light of heaven, and put an end to a great part of the happiness and glory of the blessed."* This sentiment is by no means peculiar to our plain-spoken divine. It pervades the Calvinistic treatises. Hopkins clothes it, however, in language more apt than the common phraseology, to give offence. He feared not the face of man. What word more obnoxious than the word "entertaining," could have been selected for such a theme? Elsewhere, he uses the word "relish" in the same application, and with the same boldness. Such a choice, or rather such an *employment* of nervous phrases, for teaching the standard Calvinistic doctrines, illustrates the fact, more fully than it can be shown by a lengthened criticism, that the charge of hyper-Calvinism, so often preferred against our author, is suggested by his diction, more than by his meaning. He meant to express forcibly and effectively the real idea of the Calvinistic creed. He meant to be understood and felt. He thus awakened the popular prejudice, that his faith on the subject of eternal punishment exceeded the standards of orthodoxy. He suffered far more opprobrium for his teachings on this theme, than for all his assertions that sin consists in choosing wrong, and this wrong choice can be avoided by the transgressor. At least two caricature prints were circulated, for the purpose of representing him as being "entertained" with the woes of the lost. The above-cited passage, with the word "entertaining," was quoted in a sharp *critique*, which appeared against him in the Newport Mercury of September 20, 1783. It is pleasing to notice, however, that the author of this newspaper criticism, like every other citizen of Newport, treated the *personal* virtues of Hopkins with deference; commended him as a man, but rebuked him as a theologian; spoke of him as one "whose education, conduct, and long experience in the ministry render his character respectable; but," he adds, "though far my superior in years, experience, and understanding, it may not be amiss for him, in the words of the poet, to

> 'Lend me, for a while, his patience,
> And condescend to hear a young man speak.'"

To this newspaper Review of Hopkins, two Replies appeared in the Mercury, one of them apparently from our author himself.

No one can attentively read this Treatise of Hopkins on Future

* Dr. Hopkins was always prepared to defend his use of these expressions, by the fact that words equally intense are employed in the sacred poetry. His style was not adopted through carelessness, but on principle. See his Works, vol. ii. pp. 457, 458.

Punishment, and compare it with succeeding discussions of the same topic, without perceiving the originality and profoundness of our author, and the often unacknowledged indebtedness of other writers to him. Perhaps not one of his Treatises more fully illustrates his eminent holiness, as well as his deep penetration.

I. *Theological System.*

Mr. Whelpley, in his celebrated Triangle,* says, that this "is one of the noblest bodies of divinity in the English language;" and he predicts that when it shall be candidly studied, "and, especially when it shall have the good fortune to be judged by those who have read it," "it will stand as high on the shelves of future libraries, and be regarded as a work of as much utility and merit, as Pictet, Ridgely, and Turretin." Hopkins himself thus writes the history of the work:

"In the year 1793, was published my 'System of Doctrines contained in Divine Revelation, explained and defended; showing their Consistence and Connection with each other. To which is added, a Treatise on the Millennium.' In two large octavo volumes, the whole containing one thousand two hundred forty-four pages; sold to subscribers at three dollars a set. There was a large subscription for this work, of above one thousand two hundred. I sold the copyright to the printers for nine hundred dollars, which has been a help to me, in the low, deranged state of my church and congregation; without which I know not how I should have subsisted. I had no expectation of getting a penny by the publication when I began, and while I was preparing it for the press, nor had the least view or thought of it. I was about ten years, composing and preparing it for the press. It has been a laborious work to me, which I consider as the greatest public service that I have ever done. It has met with more general and better acceptation, by far, than I expected, both in America and Europe; and no one has undertaken to answer it, though some cursory remarks have been made upon some parts of it, by way of objection, which, I believe, will not have much, if any, influence to prevent the credit and usefulness of it." †

Our author began the composition of this System, on the thirty first day of December, 1781, and the Preface to it was dated August 20, 1792. He labored on it, then, from his sixty-first to his seventy-first year. He hesitated much with regard to the place of its publication. He said: "No printer in this town is equal to it [i. e. to publishing so large a work]; for unless it could be done well, I would not have it printed." He finally sent it to Thomas & Andrews, in Boston. He wrote, but did not publish, the following Dedication of it:

"[*O thou Head*] *of the Church*, [*Sovereign*] *Lord of all!*

"In thine infinite condescension and goodness, permit and assist the most unworthy of thy servants to dedicate the ensuing labor and production to

* See pp. 90, 91. † Sketches, pp. 101, 102.

THEE, and humbly lay it at thy feet, asking thy gracious acceptance, patronage, and blessing.

"Hast not THOU called him and pointed out his way to this work? And hast not THOU supported, assisted, and carried him through it? THOU seest all the defects of it, and every thing that is wrong. THOU only art able to prevent the evil effect of these, and overrule them for good. THOU only canst bless and succeed this endeavor to serve thy cause, and vindicate and promote thy truth, and the interest of thy church and kingdom. Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, THOU dost ordain and perfect strength and praise; and art able to make this attempt the mean of supporting and promoting thy saving truth, and a blessing to millions; and cause it to produce those happy effects which shall promote thine honor and the happiness of thy kingdom, forever.

"This is thy cause, and to THEE it is cheerfully committed, with joy that it is wholly in thine hand, and that thou doest whatsoever pleaseth thee, in heaven and on earth.

"And wilt not THOU, O thou highly exalted and most merciful Saviour, accept this offering from one who, though infinitely unworthy, esteems it the highest honor and happiness to be thy devoted servant, forever?

SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Bellamy, who had rendered such fraternal aid to Hopkins, in criticizing his preceding works, had now been in his grave two years. His son-in-law, Dr. Hart, of Preston, first examined the System in manuscript; then, it was criticized by Dr. West, of Stockbridge; afterwards by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, of New Haven. The last-named divine was also requested by Hopkins, to comment on the System after its publication. A copy of his remarks is here subjoined. They illustrate the frankness and faithfulness of the criticisms upon one another, which our great men were wont to encourage. They also prove, that Edwards agreed with Hopkins on the more important parts of the Hopkinsian System, and that this system received, in the main, the sanction of the more eminent divines in that day. Hopkins indorsed on Edwards's letter the following words: "Dr. Edwards's Remarks on my System; — to be attended to, if there should be a second edition. March 19, 1795." This second edition, however, was not printed until 1811, eight years after our author's demise.

"New Haven, October 29, 1793. Reverend and Honored Sir: I have received your request by President Stiles, that I would send you remarks on your System; now sit down to comply [with] it. In general, I approve it, and thank you for it, and think you deserve the thanks of all friends to the truth. Still, some things struck me as capable of amendment. They are as follows:

"1. Would not real and manifest miracles now wrought in favor of any doctrine, not agreeable to the gospel, either prove that doctrine to be from God, or prove that the miracles wrought by Moses and Jesus were no proof of their doctrines? This refers to what is said, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.*

"2. How do the prophecies of the Old Testament prove that the writings of the New are from God? (Vol. i. pp. 20, 21.) Would not the prophecies

* Dr. Edwards's references are modified, so as to make them conform to the complete edition of Hopkins's Works.

of the New Testament equally prove any true history of the popes to be from God?

"3. Is the goodness of the doctrines and duties revealed in the Scriptures, a proof that they were given *by inspiration?* (Vol. i. pp. 23, 24.) It undoubtedly proves that those doctrines are *true*, and that those duties are *obligatory*; but that a number of doctrines and precepts, all favorable to real virtue and godliness, could not be invented and published by uninspired men, does not appear. Therefore I do not believe what President Edwards has written on this subject, in his Treatise on Religious Affections.

"4. Is it impossible, that the Scriptures should be understood by men of corrupt mind? (Vol. i. pp. 25, 26.) I do not believe it.

"5. Goodness and justice are not always the same thing. (Vol. i. pp. 47, 48.) It is goodness to pardon a sinner believing; but it is not justice. It would be justice to damn Paul, but it would be no goodness.

"6. Goodness, truth, and faithfulness do not appear to be properly distinguished. (Vol. i. p. 48.)

"7. That God loves and regards himself infinitely more than the whole creation, (vol. i. pp. 51, 52,) appears to me not true. For any being to love himself, is to love his own happiness. But all God's happiness consists in producing a happy creation; otherwise he is not a benevolent being. Now, to say that God regards his own happiness infinitely more than he does that on which all his own happiness depends, is manifestly not true. The proposition rests on the supposition, that God has a private, selfish happiness, not consisting in benevolence and beneficence; which, though implied, will not be avowed.

"8. God is not above all obligation to his creatures, (vol. i. p. 55,) unless by obligation be meant something which implies dependence, subjection to power, and exposure to punishment. Doubtless it would be as really sinful and wicked for God to abuse a creature, as for a creature to abuse God; and surely wickedness is a violation of moral obligation.

"9. The proof of the moral perfections of God seems to be defective.

"10. I conceive that future existence may be made an end, (vol. i. p. 72,) and that the then future, perfect creation was the real end for which God created every thing. God makes himself his end, as he makes his happiness his end. But the happiness which he makes his end, is the happiness which he takes in benevolence and beneficence, or the happiness which he takes in the perfect and highest happiness of the created universe. So that to make himself his end, and to make the happiness of the creation his end, is perfectly one and the same thing. Yet, if I understand Dr. Hopkins, he does not view it thus, or, at least, his expressions imply the contrary.

"11. I wish the conjecture concerning the particular kind of probation of the angels (vol. i. pp. 173, 174) were omitted; it is more suitable to *Paradise Lost* than to a System of Divinity. A systematic divine has no *licentia poetica*. The same I may observe concerning what is said of the gift of language to Adam, and some things concerning the tree of life. At least, I wish conjectures were advanced as conjectures, and not as if they were granted truths.

"12. The first sin of Adam no more, in its own nature, tended to all sin, than the first act of holiness in a regenerate man tends to all holiness.

"13. Dr. Hopkins considers Adam's sin as the sin of all mankind, and supposes that his posterity were *considered* by God as sinners in consequence of Adam's sin. But God is not deceived; he does not consider them as sinners, unless they really be sinners. But they are not really sinners, before they are guilty of personal sin. (Vol. i. pp. 212, 213.)

"14. He takes it as an axiom, that every moral creature is dependent on God for all his moral exercises. (Vol. i. p. 219.) Is this fair, when it is so much disputed?

"15. Adam, in his first sin, no more wished all men to sin than every sinner wishes this, in every sin.

"16. *Loving self as self*, is to me an obscure and unhappy expression. I presume what is meant, is what President Edwards meant, by loving that happiness which consists in such gratifications as are entirely private and personal, not implying any benevolence; such as the pleasure of eating and drinking, rest, venery, gratified ambition, &c.

"17. That the lowest degree of self-love is wrong, is not true, unless *self-love* be used in an uncommon sense. Will it be said that the lowest degree of regard to the pleasure of eating and drinking, of matrimony, and of a good reputation, is wrong? Regard to these pleasures is what President Edwards meant by self-love, and I believe is commonly meant. But, no doubt, Adam, before he fell, had some regard to these pleasures, yet not a supreme regard. Dr. Hopkins seems to mean by self-love, a supreme regard to them. No doubt the lowest degree of *this* is wrong.

"18. Dr. Hopkins seems to represent, that faith not only implies love to God, repentance, benevolence to men, &c., but that it is the very same thing.

"19. He seems to go too far into the idea, that Adam's sin is the sin of all his posterity, and that they consent to that sin; yet they no more consent to that sin than they do to the sin of Joseph's brethren, or any other sin.*

"20. Is there not an inconsistency in holding, that all the children of believers are included in the covenant with their parents, and therefore are to be baptized; and yet holding that no children are entitled to the promises of the covenant, but the children of those believers who are faithful, who are allowed to be but few, of even real believers? And since we do not know who are or will be faithful, how can we know who have a right to baptism for their children; especially since professing Christians do not profess the high degree of faithfulness which is requisite? Nor, indeed, is there a foundation for them to profess or promise it, since God has not promised it to them.

"21. In p. 121 of vol. ii., there appears to be a contradiction: 'Though they may not be what they appear to be [holy];' 'though there be *no reason to believe* that they are all such.'

"22. That freedom or liberty consists in volition, seems to me not true. External liberty is not action, and why should internal? A man may be externally free who does not act at all; and why may not he be free internally, with respect to that concerning which he has no present volition? External liberty is purely negative, implying the absence of obstacles. So the liberty of the will is the absence of natural necessity. Otherwise, the unregenerate have no liberty to love God, &c., &c.

"23. I do not believe that, before the millennium, my neighbor will kill me because I am a Calvinist, and I kill him because he is an Arminian. This was the fashion of Queen Mary's time; but the fashion is antiquated, and not likely to return.

"24. I hear, you intend to insert your section on being willing to be damned.†

* Throughout his journal, Hopkins alludes often to his favorite idea, that Adam's sin is ours because we consent to it, and that all transgressions may be imputed to us, provided that we voluntarily delight in them. Numerous passages may be found, like the following:

"If any object, that they are undone by the sin of Adam, they may be told that whenever they disapprove of [i. e., hate, refuse to imitate] the sin of Adam, they shall not be hurt by it; but be delivered from all the evil consequences of it, and be saved, and be more happy forever than if he had not sinned."

"Rom. ii. 1, 2, &c.—The apostle here supposes and asserts, that every impenitent, wicked man does *the same things* which the most corrupt and openly wicked do. Every allowed act of sin approves of all sin. He who hates his brother, is a murderer; who looks on a woman to lust after her in his heart, is an adulterer. He who is under the government of self-love, has the root of all wickedness, and *in embryo* practises all the sins which men do or can commit."

This idea lies at the basis of Hopkins's theory of imputation, although some of his phrases appear to be inconsistent with this as the fundamental principle of the theory.

† In the second edition.

I have mentioned it to all the ministers of this neighborhood, friendly to the System, and they all wish it may not be inserted; [in] particular, Mr. Upson. The System is now in credit, and I wish nothing may be done to hurt the credit of it, and to prevent its doing good. The enemies of the truth will take advantage of that section, and triumph. Now, they are silent. Besides, it would be an injury to the property of Thomas & Andrews; and certainly they, by asking you to correct it, do not imagine that you are empowered to hurt the sale of the work. If they did, they would not suffer you to meddle with it. Indeed, I think you cannot insert that section, consistently with justice to them. I will subscribe for half a dozen, if you will print that section in a separate pamphlet. I wish the Dedication to the Millennarians [vol. ii. p. 221] were left out; it is too fanciful.

"These, dear sir, are the principal remarks which I have made. As the bearer is going, I can only add, that with great esteem and sincere friendship, I am yours, JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"Doct. Hopkins."

These are the criticisms of one of the most keen-eyed Reviewers of his own or of any day. They are the results of an examination, which he made for the express purpose of finding in the volumes of Hopkins every fault, which the pupil would desire his teacher to remove. They were made, as they were received, in the spirit of honest and indissoluble friendship. There was, probably, no theological System extant, to which the sharp-minded critic would have proposed so small a number of objections. The fact that the criticisms of such a man on a work of such extent, are so few, and so far from being fundamental, is one of the most pleasing encomiums which the work could have received.

To some it may appear singular, that Dr. Edwards should dare to imply that the System of Hopkins was imaginative in the slightest degree. There are hundreds of expressions, however, in the System, which indicate a simplicity of character, a childlike feeling, seldom belonging to an abstruse logician. Thus, in reasoning against the idea, that the saints of heaven will return and dwell bodily in the world, during the millennium, he says: "They would take up that room in the earth, which will be then wanted for those who will be born in that day."—Works, Vol. ii. p. 266. In objecting to the personal reign of Christ on earth, during the millennium, he says, that the Messiah is now "in the most proper, agreeable, and convenient situation, to govern the world and take care of his church."—Ib. p. 263. Our author teaches, that Adam "was created on the latter part of the sixth day, but soon fell into a deep sleep, and had no great enjoyment or thought till the next day."—Ib. p. 88.

This stern metaphysician made no attempt to adorn his volumes with poetic imagery. But if a man like Byron could be induced to read the System of Hopkins, and to look through its unpolished style, he would detect in it the elements of a poetic grandeur and sublimity. "It gives me," says Byron,—and he often repeated similar remarks,—"a much higher idea of the majesty, power, and wisdom of God, to believe that the devils themselves are at his nod, and are

subject to his control, with as much ease as the elements of nature follow the respective laws which his will has assigned them."* Now, a prominent feature of Hopkins's System of Divinity is, the supremacy and dominion which it ascribes to the Eternal One. Perhaps no work has a more uniform aim to exalt the Creator, and to abase the creature. Here is seen the depth and fervor of the author's religious sentiment, and this sentiment is one of the fountains of poetry.

Far be it from any critic to imply, that Samuel Hopkins ever sacrificed his judgment to his imagination. We err, however, when we surmise that he had no imaginative tendencies. No one born of woman is without them. A decided opposer of his System has remarked concerning him:

"His doctrines, indeed, threw dark colors over the world around him; but he took refuge from the present state of things in the Millennium. The Millennium was his chosen ground. If any subject of thought possessed him above all others, I suppose it to have been this. The Millennium was more than a belief to him. It had the freshness of visible things. He was at home in it. His book on the subject has an air of reality, as if written from observation. He describes the habits and customs of the Millennium, as one familiar with them. He enjoyed this future glory of the church not a whit the less, because it was so much his own creation. The fundamental idea, the germ, he found in the Scriptures, but it expanded in and from his own mind. Whilst to the multitude he seemed a hard, dry theologian, feeding on the thorns of controversy, he was living in a region of imagination, feeding on visions of a holiness and a happiness which are to make earth all but heaven."†

Hopkins was, above most others, a prosaic divine; but there is a poetic grandeur in the very thought, that an indigent and often invalid pastor, after having been reproached and persecuted for half a century, should waver not a hair's breadth from his obnoxious faith; and in his extreme age should publish it, without a single attempt to subdue its offensive features, or to win patronage or renown; and, with a seemingly pure aim to glorify his Sovereign, should insist, sternly as ever, on a reverence for the unconditional decrees, and the every where penetrating agency of that august Being. It is pleasant, as well as instructive, to know that this disinterested love of all that he deemed true, was rewarded with the esteem of the wise and good; and that the Body of Divinity on which our author had expended his maturer years, was ushered into the world with the approval, after a most rigid review, of the three men whose position and relations gave them an unusual influence over the mind of Hopkins. There were no three men living, whose sympathy was more gratifying to this early friend and brother of President Edwards and Bellamy, than the three who gave their careful sanction to his System: one of them, President Edwards's

* Galt's Life of Byron, p. 276.
† Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 353.

son; another of them, President Edwards's successor in the ministry at Stockbridge, the revered "Patriarch of Berkshire County;" another, the son-in-law, and for many years the intimate companion, of Bellamy. These men were the representatives of a strong and resolute body of clergymen, whose influence has been felt in our own and in other lands.

We by no means intend to imply, that there was no public opposition to this most important of Hopkins's writings. Among the pamphlets which appeared against it was the following:

"Remarks on the Leading Sentiments in the Reverend Dr. Hopkins's System of Doctrines, in a Letter to a Friend, from Samuel Langdon, D. D. Published according to Act of Congress, for the Author. Printed at Exeter, by Henry Ranlett, for and sold by the Author; sold also by most of the Booksellers in New England, and by the Printer hereof. April, 1794." pp. 56.

President Langdon, in this pamphlet, accuses Dr. Hopkins of "artful reasoning," of "an artful way of summing up the whole character of the great God of love," "of venturing boldly into logical speculations," of agreeing too much with Dr. Priestly on the subject of the will, of "scholastic speculations," "over-curious inquiries," "cobweb schemes," etc., etc. He says that Hopkins "has prepared a balloon which mounts him very high into the ethereal regions, until he almost loses sight of earth." In this single pamphlet of the worthy President, he has anticipated many phrases of succeeding but less original critics. It is almost amusing to notice the style, in which the old patriarch of Rhode Island received these criticisms of Dr. Langdon. "He finds much fault," says Hopkins, "but has not written so as to mortify me in the least." "If a thousand pamphlets were to be written to no better purpose, I should think them not worthy an answer."

J. *Dialogue on Disinterested Submission.*

Dr. Hopkins wrote several essays on the duty of entire resignation to the will of God. One of them, which was written several years before his death, was not published until two years after it. The treatise was entitled "A Dialogue between a Calvinist and a Semi-Calvinist." It occupied only twenty-six duodecimo pages, but has probably elicited more prejudice against its author, than has been excited by all his other writings, except those on the divine government over sin. Yet his speculations on this subject illustrate the intrepidity, with which he followed the principles of Calvinistic authors to their logical conclusions. With what a firm tread he moves on, from the proposition that men ought to feel as God feels, to the proposition, that if God wills them to be lost, they ought to acquiesce in his preference. They should be willing to lose their eternal life, provided that, and in the same sense that God is willing that they

lose it. They ought to submit to their own condemnation, provided that, and in the same sense that they ought to submit to the condemnation of those fellow-creatures, whom God may in any sense choose to condemn. They ought to love neither sin nor misery, as such; but ought to be resigned to any and all evils, so far forth as these evils are essential to the highest good of the universe, and are therefore willed by the Holy One. In whatever sense sin and misery are not conducive to the general welfare, we should not feel resigned to them, either in our own or in other persons. Dr. Samuel Miller seems to regard the Hopkinsian doctrine of Disinterested Submission, as a logical result from the Edwardean theory on the nature of True Virtue;* but it should rather be regarded as a logical result from the old Calvinistic principles, that God in any sense prefers to condemn transgressors, and that all men ought to harmonize with *every* divine preference.

Such was the habitual view of Dr. Hopkins. He never claimed to have done any thing more on this subject, than to have drawn a simple inference from admitted principles, and he regarded this inference as nothing new.† The few pages of his Dialogue give a remarkable exemplification of his entire theological character. He treated the apostle's words in Rom. ix. 3, on the principle so often sanctioned by Calvinistic writers, that "it is safe to speak according to the Scriptures; and so far as any man does not, it is because, in that instance, there is no light in him."‡ Dr. Patten narrates the following incident:

"A minister of some eminence, from a distance, possessed of great zeal, came to Newport, and the writer invited him to preach for him. In his sermons he denounced what were considered Hopkinsian doctrines, as very erroneous and absurd. On Monday morning, the writer inquired if he had any wish to see Dr. Hopkins. He expressed his assent. On being introduced, he said, in a very frank, or rather abrupt manner, 'I want, Dr. Hopkins, a statement from you of the most important arguments in favor of *your* doctrine, that *men ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God!*' 'Why,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'do you call it *mine?*' 'Because,' replied the stranger, 'it is ascribed to you, and I presume you preach it.' 'I do not recollect,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'that I ever used those expressions in a sermon, in my life, or that I maintain a doctrine which has not been expressed by other orthodox divines, and which is not scriptural, and therefore [it is] not my doctrine.' The divines to whom he might refer, are, Dr. Cotton Mather in his article in his diary on a private fast, and Dr. Doddridge in his Penitent in the Rise and Progress of Religion, and various others, who express the spirit of the doctrine as maintained by Dr. Hopkins."§

It has been supposed by some, that our author loaded his sermons with the phraseology, "men must be willing to be damned;" but according to the preceding statement, he adopted for the pulpit a

* See Miller's Life of Edwards, p. 244.

† See a suggestion of the inference, on p. 22 of this Memoir.

‡ Hopkins's System, vol. i. p. 430.

§ Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 98, 99.

different style from that which he admitted into his Dialogue. It has been also supposed, that he pressed upon all disciples, old and young, the duty of a conscious willingness to be lost. But it is the testimony of some valuable witnesses, that while he believed this duty to be involved in all hearty submission to the divine government, he did not expect that all who were truly pious would be *distinctly* conscious of having performed it; he did not expect that all youthful, or uninstructed, or mistaught, or feeble Christians would analyze their consciousness so thoroughly as to detect this grace, although it was an element in every act of their self-consecration. It is said that he regarded the *perceptible* and *prominent* exercise of the virtue, as an attainment of the more enlightened or mature disciple.*

There is a striking resemblance between the feelings of Dr. Hopkins and the feelings of Fenelon, Madame Guion, and many other mystics, with regard to the endurance of *pain* for the divine glory. It is unnatural for any man to rise into these heights of sentiment and of reasoning, unless he have an ideality far above that of the masses. Hopkins, with all his logic, had a comprehensive though not an active imagination, and he took into his range the loftiest suppositions conceivable. His Dialogue is a permanent refutation of the slander, that Hopkinsianism is a scheme of low utilitarianism. It is the expansive benevolence of his theology, which captivated the enthusiastic mind of Channing; and if Hopkins had adorned his sentiments with the graces of a poetic style, he would have been a favorite with those imaginative writers who lose themselves in the praises of a self-sacrificing spirit, of a self-forgetful soul, swallowed up in the well-being of the universe.

"His system," says Channing, "however fearful, was yet built on a generous foundation. He maintained that all holiness, all moral excellence, consists in benevolence, or disinterested devotion to the greatest good; that this is the character of God; that love is the only principle of the divine administration. He taught that sin was introduced into the creation, and is to be everlastingly punished, because evil is necessary to the highest good. To this government, in which the individual is surrendered to the well-being of the whole, he required entire and cheerful submission. Other Calvinists were willing, that their neighbors should be predestined to everlasting misery for the glory of God. This noble-minded man demanded a more generous and impartial virtue, and maintained that we should consent to our own perdition, should be willing ourselves to be condemned, if the greatest good of the universe and the manifestation of the divine perfections should so require. True virtue, as he taught, was an entire surrender of personal interest to the benevolent purposes of God. Self-love he spared in none of its movements. He called us to seek our own happiness as well as that of others, in a spirit of impartial benevolence; to do good to ourselves, not from self-preference, not from the impulse of personal desires, but in obedience to that sublime law which requires us to promote the welfare of each and all within our influence. I need not be ashamed to confess the deep impression, which this system made

* This is the testimony of several who sat under his ministry, and whose recollections on the topic are definite, if not correct.

on my youthful mind. I am grateful to this stern teacher, for turning my thoughts and heart to the claims and majesty of impartial, universal benevolence." *

In the same posthumous volume which contained the above-named Dialogue, was published "A Serious Address to Professing Christians, in the name, and from the words of Jesus Christ, recorded [in] Revelation vi. 15." This Address of our author was originally a sermon, and illustrates the practical character of his pulpit.

K. *Volume of Sermons.*

The last theological work which our author prepared for the press, was a volume of "Twenty-one Sermons on a Variety of Interesting Subjects, sentimental and practical. They were published at Salem, Massachusetts, in an octavo of three hundred and eighty-seven pages, a short time before his death, under the auspices of his brother, Dr. Daniel Hopkins. "That they will be printed in my lifetime, or ever," says their humble author, as soon as he had fitted them for publication, "or whether they are worth printing, is to me very uncertain." They *are* worth printing, although they display less versatility of genius than is exhibited in his sermon to the Stockbridge Indians.† They are well worth reprinting, as the developments of a singularly consecutive logic. Those principles which permeate his System, — that the original cause or occasion of sin cannot be itself sinful, ‡ that sin is not the punishment of sin, § that a person may be "guilty in those exercises and that conduct in which he has no knowledge or consciousness that he is doing wrong," ‖ and that if he *can* not learn the divine will, he "is not guilty at all, so does not things worthy of any stripes, because in this case his ignorance is properly *invincible*;" ¶ — those and similar principles affect the whole train of thought in these discourses. One of our author's successors in the ministry ** has remarked, and every student of this volume will readily believe the assertion, that "no man ever insisted more fully on both doctrines, [divine sovereignty and human liberty,] than Dr. Hopkins. Of no man was it more frequently said, that he contradicted himself flatly, than of him. This charge always had exclusive respect to the doctrines of ability and decrees." Hopkins never seems to have been disheartened, when accused of contradicting himself in regard to these two doctrines; for he well knew the tendency of one-sided men, to suppose that the will is not free if God's agency be universal.

* Channing's Works, vol. iv. pp. 342, 348.
† See pp. 46-49 of this Memoir.
‡ See System, vol. i. pp. 100-104, 124, new edition.
§ System, vol. i. p. 194, new edition.
‖ Ib. p. 132
¶ Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 323.
** Rev. Calvin Hitchcock, D. D., Randolph, Mass.

L. *Writings on Slavery.*

The poet John G. Whittier predicts, that "when distracted and divided Christendom shall unite in a new Evangelical union, in which orthodoxy in life and practice shall be estimated above orthodoxy in theory, he [Dr. Hopkins] will be honored as a good man, rather than as a successful creed-maker; as a friend of the oppressed, and the fearless rebuker of popular sin, rather than as the champion of a protracted sectarian war."* The activity of this divine, however, on the subject of slavery, formed, in his own view, but an episode in his life. Still, could all the letters which he addressed on this theme to lay and clerical philanthropists in Europe and America, and could all the essays which he printed concerning it in the news papers of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, be now gathered up, they would form no inconsiderable volume. His Dialogue, mentioned on p. 117, and his Sermon, mentioned on p 141 of this Memoir, constitute but a small part of his writings on the subject.

M. *Biographical Writings.*

I. At the age of forty-one, our author wrote, and two years afterward published, his first biographical work: "The Life and Character of the late Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards, President of the College of New Jersey; together with Extracts from his Private Writings and Diary. Boston, 1764." The Seventeen Sermons of Edwards which Hopkins edited, were published in the same volume, together with President Edwards's Farewell Sermon to his people at Northampton. A second edition of this volume was published at Northampton, in 1804. An edition of it was published at Edinburgh, in 1799, under the auspices of Dr. Erskine. An English edition of the volume, revised and enlarged, was published in 1815, in London. Hopkins's Memoir of Edwards has served as the basis, for the other Memoirs of that great man. It is a narrative by an eye-witness of the scenes described. The world are indebted to it, for the best portraiture of Edwards which was ever drawn by a man who knew him. One or two of President Edwards's children objected to it as incomplete; and during the last thirty years it has fallen into unmerited oblivion. In a coming age, however, it will be prized as the result of a confidential intercourse with the father of New England theology.

There are many facts recorded in this Memoir, which give us a vivid idea of President Edwards as a man, and which are doubly valuable, as the same or very similar facts are reported concerning

* National Era, July 12, 1847.

Dr. Hopkins himself. Thus we read in the biographer's simple-hearted and honest style, that:

"He kept a watchful eye over his children, that he might admonish them of the *first* wrong step, and direct them in the right way. He took opportunities to treat with them in his study, singly and particularly, about their own souls' concerns, and to give them warning, exhortation, and direction, as he saw occasion. He took much pains to instruct them in the principles of religion; in which he made use of the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism:* not merely by taking care that they learned it by heart, but by leading them into an understanding of the doctrines therein taught, by asking them questions on each answer, and explaining it to them. His usual time to attend this, was on the evening before the Sabbath. And, as he believed that the Sabbath, or holy time, began at sunset the evening before the day, he ordered his family to finish all their secular business by that time, or before, when they were all called together, and a psalm was sung and prayer attended, as an introduction to the sanctifying the Sabbath. This care and exactness effectually prevented that intruding on holy time, by attending on secular business, too common in families where the evening before the Sabbath is pretended to be observed.

"He was a great enemy to young people's unseasonable company-keeping and frolicking, as he looked upon it as a great means of corrupting and ruining youth. And he thought the excuse many parents make for tolerating their children in it, (viz., that it is the custom, and others' children practise it, which renders it difficult, and even impossible, to restrain theirs,) was insufficient and frivolous, and manifested a great degree of stupidity, on supposition the practice was hurtful and pernicious to their souls. And when some of his children grew up, he found no difficulty in restraining them from this pernicious practice, but they cheerfully complied with the will of their parents herein. He allowed not his children to be from home after nine o'clock at night, when they went abroad to see their friends and companions; neither were they allowed to sit up much after that time, in his own house, when any came to make them a visit. If any gentleman desired acquaintance with his daughters, after handsomely introducing himself, by properly consulting the parents, he was allowed all proper opportunity for it, and a room and fire, if needed; but must not intrude on the proper hours of rest and sleep, nor the religion and order of the family." *

II. At the age of seventy-five, our author published "The Life and Character of Miss Susanna Anthony. — Worcester, 1796."

III. At the age of seventy-eight, he published "Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn. — Worcester, 1799." This and the preceding volume consist chiefly of extracts from the writings of the women to whom they are devoted. They have an historical worth, as illustrating the style of piety which was cultivated under the ministrations of our author.

IV. Two years after his death, was published a duodecimo of two hundred and forty pages, entitled, "Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, written by himself; Interspersed with Marginal Notes extracted from his Private Diary: to which is added a Dialogue, by the same hand, on the Nature and Extent of True Christian Submission; also, a Serious Address to Professing Christians: closed by

* Life of Edwards, pp. 50, 51, Edinburgh edition.

Dr. Hart's Sermon at his Funeral; with an Introduction to the whole, by the Editor. Published by Stephen West, D. D., Pastor of the church in Stockbridge. [Printed in] Hartford," [Conn.] The Autobiography occupies a hundred and fifteen pages. It was composed in 1796 and 1799. Its style is one of singular condensation, and breathes all the honesty and lowliness, although, alas! none of the grace of Izaak Walton. Soon after its publication, it was very severely reviewed by Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, in the Anthology. Not having been personally acquainted with Dr. Hopkins, Mr. Buckminster speaks of him with far less reverence than is exhibited in the criticisms of Dr. Channing; although both of these writers "shrunk with abhorrence" from the Hopkinsian tenets.

N. *Editorial Labors.*

Our author was urged to edit the writings of President Edwards by the President's widow, her eldest son, and her son-in-law, the father of Dr. Dwight. He was probably induced to undertake the work, by the known wishes of his revered teacher. We are told by Dr. Patten, that "by request of Mr. Edwards, all his [Mr. E.'s] manuscripts were placed in the hands of Mr. Hopkins. These, not including his sermons, amounted to many volumes. He considered it not a little to his credit, compared with many ministers who have books but do not read them, that he gave all the manuscripts a perusal. This he did, not as a task, but as a gratification."* He is said, on good authority, to have spent six years mainly in the study and preparation of these manuscripts. In 1764, he thus describes the labor which had been devolved upon him:

"Mr. Edwards has left a great many volumes in manuscript, which he wrote in a miscellaneous way on almost all subjects in divinity; which he did, not with any design they should ever be published in the form in which they are, but for the satisfaction and improvement of his own mind, and that he might retain the thoughts which appeared to him worth preserving. —— He has wrote much on the prophecies of the Messiah, justification, the divinity of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments. He wrote a great deal on the Bible, in the same way, by penning his thoughts on particular passages of it, as they occurred to him in reading or meditation; by which he has cast much light on many parts of the Bible, which has escaped other interpreters, and by which his great and painful attention to the Bible, and making it the only rule of his faith, are manifest.

"If the public were willing to be at the cost, and publishing books of divinity met with as much encouragement now as it has sometimes, there might be a number of volumes published from his manuscripts, which would afford a great deal of new light and entertainment to the church of Christ; though they would be more imperfect than if he himself had prepared them for public view.

"As the method he took, to have his miscellaneous writings in such order as to be able with ease to turn to any thing he had wrote upon a particular

* Patten's Reminiscences, p. 45.

subject, when he had occasion, is, perhaps, as good as any, if not the best that has been proposed to the public, — some account of it will here be given; as what may be of advantage to young students who have not yet gone into any method, and are disposed to improve their minds by writing.

"He numbered all his miscellaneous writings. The first thing he wrote is No. 1; the second, No. 2; and so on. And when he had occasion to write on any particular subject, he first set down the number, and then wrote the subject in capitals or large characters, that it might not escape his eye when he should have occasion to turn to it. As, for instance, if he was going to write on the happiness of angels, and his last number was 148, he would begin thus: 149. ANGELS, THEIR HAPPINESS. And when he had wrote what he designed at that time on that subject, he would turn to an alphabetical table which he kept, and under the letter A, he would write, ANGELS, THEIR HAPPINESS, — if this was not already in his alphabet; and then set down the number 149, close at the right hand of it. And if he had occasion to write any new thoughts on the same subject, if the number of his miscellanies were increased, so that his last number was 261, he would set the number 262, and then the subject as before. And when he had done writing for that time, he turned to his table, to the word ANGELS; and at the right hand of the number 149, set down 262. By this means he had no occasion to leave any chasms, but began his next subject where he left off his last.

"The number of his miscellaneous writings ranged in this manner, amounts to above fourteen hundred. And yet, by a table contained on a sheet or two of paper, any thing he wrote can be turned to at pleasure." *

It is an interesting fact, that the first printed volume for which Mr. Hopkins felt any personal responsibility, was Edwards on Original Sin. This treatise was published in 1758, before Mr. Hopkins had written any thing for the press, except in the newspapers. A few sheets of the volume had been printed, several months before President Edwards's decease. The subject of this work was one which had long occupied the mind of Hopkins. At the age of twenty-three, he wrote in his Journal: "I have been reading Mr. Taylor's works, who denied original sin. I cannot fall in with him. If I give up this doctrine, I must give up Christianity." Although Hopkins often declares in his System, that the children of Adam are not answerable for his sin, and it is not their sin, any further than they approve of it, by sinning as he did, — in this way only they become guilty of his sin, viz., by approving of what he did, and joining with him in rebellion," — and although Hopkins expressly defines original sin to be "that total moral depravity which takes place in the hearts of all the children of Adam, in consequence of his apostasy, which consists in exercise or act, as really as any sin can do, and therefore cannot be distinguished from actual sin;" † he yet, in some of his expressions on this theme, approaches more nearly to the style of Edwards's treatise on the same doctrine, than has any other eminent divine of New England within the past century. ‡ It is a proof of his most affectionate attachment to his theological

* Life of Edwards, pp. 98, 99, Edinburgh edition.

† See System, vol. i. pp. 218, 224, 230, etc., etc.

‡ In proof of this statement, see Hopkins's System, vol. i. pp. 199, 200, 210, 211, 213.

instructor, that he nowhere specifically *declares* his dissent from Edwards's philosophy on this theme, and he frequently speaks of Edwards's treatise with high commendation.*

On the tenth of December, 1759, Hopkins writes to Bellamy:

"Mr. Foxcroft [pastor of the First Church, Boston] has offered Mr. Edwards's children [that he will] assist in the publication of some of Mr. Edwards's manuscripts; and promises faithfulness, if they will commit any to him. Mrs. Gill has sent a letter to them, urging them, by many arguments, to accept of Mr. Foxcroft's kind offer; and Mr. Hawley has wrote about it to Mr. Dwight. And Mr. Dwight has wrote up, proposing that some manuscripts should be sent to Mr. Foxcroft, by my advice and help. The children seem to be pleased with the scheme. Accordingly, the two Dissertations on the End of God, &c., and on Virtue, and forty-six volumes of Sermons are selected to be sent to Boston.

"Mr. Foxcroft proposes, that some history of Mr. Edwards's life shall be prefixed to the first publication, and desires me to send him what I have wrote. [I] have encouraged him I will transcribe and send it, but almost regret that I have done it, on several accounts."

More than two years after the date of this epistle, Hopkins wrote again to Bellamy, in a characteristic way:

"March 24, 1762. I have a letter from Mr. Cumming, [Pastor of Old South Church, Boston,] from which I gather, that nothing is done toward printing Mr. Edwards's Life and Sermons. The sermons not transcribed; they depend much upon me to do it, while the sermons are at Boston! The printer waiting for subscriptions, very few of which come in. Mr. Foxcroft, [on whom chief reliance had been placed,] sick, and can do nothing towards it. Mr. Cumming, out of health and under difficulties, and a degree of persecution, has thoughts of printing in his own defence. Mr. Searle [a particular friend of President Edwards] cannot transcribe. That on the *End of God*, &c., is not transcribed yet. Nothing will be done. I have been much out of health of late; have not preached the two Sabbaths past; have done no business for some time. My people are in an uncommon ferment, and I am dejected and discouraged."

We wait more than two years longer, and find Hopkins himself in Boston! His printer had struck off only six of Edwards's sermons and three sheets of Hopkins's Memoir. Of the forty-six volumes of manuscript, only seventeen sermons were printed as late as the close of 1764! Edwards had then been in his grave nearly seven years. So difficult was it, in that day, to bring forward the publications of one whose most trivial manuscripts are now regarded as treasures. It has been supposed, that the writings of President Edwards received, from the churches of our land, a far more cordial welcome than was given to the productions of Hopkins. But between the first and second editions of Hopkins's Works, a shorter interval elapsed, than between the first and second editions of Edwards's valuable publications. It is a humiliating fact, that several of Edwards's writings were sent to Scotland for publication, because our own community would not patronize them!

* See his Memoir of Edwards, p. 61, Edinburgh edition.

In the early part of 1765, our author succeeded in carrying through the press the two Dissertations "Concerning the End for which God created the World," and the "Nature of True Virtue." Together with Hopkins's Preface, etc., they formed a duodecimo of only a hundred and ninety-eight pages; a small volume, written and edited by ministers in the forests of New England, but destined to enchain the attention of such philosophers as Dugald Stewart and Sir James Mackintosh. The proof-sheets of this volume were corrected by Messrs. Pemberton and Eliot of Boston. Edwards had written the Dissertations three years, at least, before his death. He had made a public announcement of his intention to publish, soon, the Treatise on Virtue. The main idea of that treatise he had developed in his college life; and had thus matured it during his forty years of study. It was, therefore, incumbent on Hopkins to prepare it as soon as possible for publication. Both he and Bellamy had reviewed, in company with Edwards, the Treatise on the End of God in creating the World; and there is no doubt, that the Treatise on Virtue had been the topic of earnest consultation among these three friends.* Hopkins, especially, was so intimate with Edwards, and was withal so inquisitive, and eager for information, that he must have ascertained the opinions of his teacher with regard to the practical bearings of the theory which, more than almost any other, contains the "seeds of things." He spent much of his life in defending and applying this theory of virtue. He founded many of his peculiarities upon it. No man had enjoyed so signal an advantage for learning the varied uses which Edwards would make of it. Dr. Samuel Miller says: "It is confidently believed, that if he [Edwards] had foreseen the use which has since been made of the doctrine of this Dissertation [concerning Virtue], he would either have shrunk from its publication, or have guarded its various aspects with additional care."† But Hopkins expresses the general opinion, when he affirms, in the Preface to these Dissertations, that Edwards "had a rare talent to penetrate deep in search of truth; to take an extensive survey of a subject, and look through it into remote consequences." Some of these consequences, there is reason to believe that Edwards himself would have more fully developed, had he lived to edit his own manuscript; for Hopkins says in his instructive Preface, that "if his [Edwards's] life had been spared, he would have reviewed them [*i. e.*, the two Dissertations,] and rendered them in some respects more complete. Some new sentiments, here and there, might probably have been added, and some passages brightened with further illustrations. This may be conjectured from some brief hints or sentiments, minuted down on loose papers found in

* See pp. 49, 50, of this Memoir.
† Miller's Life of Edwards, p. 244.

the manuscripts." Hopkins knew what these additions were. If they had been at all inconsistent with the main doctrine of the Dissertations, his honesty would have prompted him to publish the fact. But he knew the contrary. He implies that they confirmed and illustrated that great doctrine. Here we see a new cause for thankfulness to an all-wise Providence, that the editorial supervision of Edwards's works was committed to his confidential friend, who had a better acquaintance than any other man, with the inner views and aims of the "prince of metaphysicians;" and who, in his reverent spirit, chose to call himself an Edwardean, while in his modesty he never desired to be called a Hopkinsian.

After preparing several other works of Edwards for the press, the disheartened editor became satisfied that they would not be sold, and he therefore turned his mind to other projects.

Much instruction may be derived from the changes which have taken place, in the relative estimate of these two divines. It has been a cherished intent of some, to magnify the differences between the teacher and the pupil. But formerly, the most jealous admirers of Edwards were wont to say, that his pupil was indebted to the six years' study of the President's manuscripts, for the most important peculiarities of the Hopkinsian creed, and therefore the creed ought to be called Edwardean. Dr. Channing is equally sure of the substantial agreement between the two friends, but takes an entirely different view of their relation to each other. "My impression is," he writes, "that President Edwards was a good deal indebted to Dr. Hopkins for his later views of religion; especially for those which we find in his Essays on Virtue and on God's End in Creation. Dr. Hopkins had not the profound genius of Edwards, but was he not a man of a freer and a bolder mind?" *

Doubtless the two friends, in their frequent conferences during an intimacy of seventeen years, in their many social rides and walks, and their closet interviews, which are so often mentioned in the Diary of Hopkins, gave to each other many hints, and opened before each other many views, which neither would have received alone. The pupil loved to confess, that his mind derived an unwonted stimulus and enlargement from the earnest study of his teacher's manuscripts; and the fact that those manuscripts were committed to his care, is one indication of the confidence which his teacher was known to have reposed in him. The pupil revered the instructor, and the instructor relied on the sound judgment of the pupil. With his characteristic honesty, Hopkins avows in regard to the most vital of all his speculations: "In this, however, I don't pretend to be an original. President Edwards, in his Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue, has given the same account of holiness, for substance,

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

(though under a different name,) which the reader will find in the following Inquiry.* All I can pretend to, as an improvement on him, is to have explained some things more fully than he did, and more particularly stated the opposition of holiness to self-love; and shown that this representation of holiness is agreeable to the Scripture, and to have answered some objections he has not mentioned, and made a number of inferences." Dr. Jonathan Edwards acknowledges, that Hopkins effected the great improvement in American theology, with regard to the use of means in an impenitent state; and yet both Dr. Edwards and Dr. Hopkins strenuously contended, that this improvement is a logical result of premises laid down by the President himself.† These doctors may have misunderstood the principles of the Edwardean theology; but if Hopkins did not, more fully than any other man, comprehend these principles, he must have been singularly obtuse; for he was more conversant than any other man with their author, when he first developed them; he aided in that development; his suggestive mind was often consulted and confided in by their author; he was intrusted with their defence; he examined them with rare intenseness after their author's demise; he devoted the studies of sixty years to them; he saw them in their practical workings; he learned them by living them. He did not mean to be a copyist of Edwards. He believed, however, and loved to believe, that, if Edwards had lived to a good old age, the two friends would have remained as firmly united with each other in faith, as they had ever been; that they would have continued to plead for essentially the same theories, to enjoy essentially the same aids, and to contend against essentially the same objections.

O. *Miscellaneous Essays.*

These were very numerous; too much so to be here specified. Many of them were published in the Theological Magazine; a periodical to which himself and Drs. Edwards and West contributed the ablest articles. Some were published in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, in the newspapers of Hartford, Boston, Providence, and Newport. In his Diary, Hopkins often speaks of manuscripts which he was interested in writing. Some of them are now lost. Several which are preserved relate to baptism, miracles, prayer, the nature of "saving faith," the atonement, free justification, and kindred topics. The greater part of them, however, are expositions of biblical texts, and prove that the Bible, rather than books of metaphysics, was his chief study. The following is a single specimen of

* "Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness;" from the Preface to which volume, these words are quoted.

† See the Essay in Dr. Edwards's Works, vol. i. pp. 433, 439, on the Improvements made in Theology by President Edwards.

his exegetical* papers. The present biographer would, on some accounts, choose to make a few alterations in it, but as he has, in other instances, abstained from any changes in his author's compositions, (except in those rare cases which are denoted by brackets,)† so he prefers, on the whole, to let the ensuing illustration of Hopkins's philology speak for itself, *verbatim et literatim.*

"December, 18, 1786. I have been attending to Gal. iv. 12: 'Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all.' The original is, 'Be ye as I; for I as you.'

"I find it capable of *four* senses different from each other, which have been put upon it.

"By some it has been taken as expressing his desire to be *one* [with the Galatians] in affection and love, which is effected by [their] loving each other as themselves. He wishes them to love him as he loved them, and exercise the same kind of affection. The words of Jehoshaphat, they suppose, are an illustration of this sense, (1 Kings xxii. 4,) 'I am as thou art.' In the original it is 'I as thou.' This sense is embraced by Luther, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, and Gomarus.

"Others give the following sense: 'I have put off the Jew, and considered their rites of circumcision, &c., as not binding, and have, in these things, conformed to you Gentiles, and conversed freely with you. I am, in this respect, as you Gentiles; I beseech you to continue to be as I am, and not forsake me by turning Jews, in conforming to their rites, which I have renounced, but be as I am.'

"This is the construction of Estius, Monochius, Erasmus, and Tirinus.

"Another sense is put upon this text by some Greek expositors, mentioned by Estius, by Paraeus, Vestius, Vatabulus, and Dr. Doddridge. They render the text thus, 'Be ye as I now am, for I was once as ye are,' *i. e.*, I was once in the same error, into which you are now running. I know the sin and danger of it; I wish you to renounce it, as I have done, and be as I now am.

"I find, by examining my manuscripts, that above forty years ago I understood this passage in a sense different from all the fore-mentioned, which seems to have been the sense to which I was led by attending to the original, without consulting any author, or knowing how it had been understood by expositors. I then paraphrased the verse as follows: 'Be ye as I am; for I am as ye *were*, and ought to be. Brethren, I am concerned for your good, and seeking your benefit, and not my own interest; for that is not concerned in the matter; for what you have done no way hurts or injures me in my personal interest.'

"In the original, the words ἀδελφοὶ δέομαι ὑμῶν come in after the first sentence, 'Be ye as I; for I as you,' and seem to be a sentence by itself, agreeable to the punctuation in the Greek Testament; and not as the English translation puts it, by transposing the words. The sense I have given of the words in my paraphrase, perhaps, is *strained.* It is there supposed that a peculiar emphasis is to be put on the word δέομαι; that it expresses his tender concern for their interest, by which he was led, in the most tender manner, and with the greatest concern and compassion for them, as on his knees, to entreat and beseech them, not in the least influenced by any personal interest or resentment; which the last words express: 'Ye have not injured me at all,' *quod dicit,* You have hurt yourselves, and not me, by renouncing the truths which I taught you; and I am entreating you, and exercising disinterested compassion for you, and seeking not my own profit, but yours.

"'For I *am* as ye *were.*' This is as easy and natural a supply to the original,

* The word *exegesis* is occasionally used by Hopkins, in his comments on the Bible.

† See the Preface to this Memoir.

as 'I *was* as ye *are*,' or any other. They did, at first, embrace the truth preached by Paul, and did *run well* for a time. They turned away from the truth. Paul continued steadfast as he was, and wished them to return to him, and be as they once were."

Many of Dr. Hopkins's biblical Expositions are much more accurate than the preceding, and would have been here substituted for it, if the aim of this Memoir had been to proclaim his merits and conceal his faults. He would doubtless have applied to this Exposition the epithet, which he so often applied to his manuscripts, "*non dignum typis*." But the most incorrect of his philological essays prove, that he was accustomed to study the original languages of the Bible, and the ablest commentaries upon it, and then to form his own independent judgment.

P. *European Correspondence.*

This was elaborate and voluminous. Our author's letters are scattered among the documents of Erskine, Sharp, Macaulay, Fuller, Ryland, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and various other associations and individuals. No one can say, that Dr. Hopkins did not accomplish as much for the world, by his epistles to the English and Scotch divines, as by his published volumes. He influenced men who had great power over their race. He touched the hinges of a large community.

It is well known that "*American Theology*," as it was termed, had a marked influence in breaking down the Antinomianism of the English dissenters. The three American writers who were most carefully studied by the British assailants of that Antinomianism, were Edwards, Hopkins, and Bellamy; and this triumvirate exerted, through Andrew Fuller and his coadjutors, nearly as much power over Old, as over New England. No small part of this influence came through the correspondence of Hopkins. At one date, we find him urging his friends to print an English edition of Bellamy's works. At another date, we find him remonstrating, in a letter of eight closely written pages, against James Hervey's doctrine of justifying faith. In all his epistles he has a serious object.

The most important of his letters were in reference to the writings of the celebrated Abraham Booth. In 1796, Mr. Booth published his "Glad Tidings to perishing Sinners;" a work written in designed opposition to the school of Andrew Fuller. Mr. Booth "suspected, that Mr. Fuller and his friends were too much attached to the sentiments of President Edwards and other American divines of later date; and that by importing their metaphysical refinements, there would be some danger of relaxing that muscular system of theology [?] to which he himself was so ardently attached." "In the progress of his inquiry, Mr. Booth did not fail to animadvert pretty

severely on some of the American writers; whom he mentioned, rather in terms of contempt; and the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins in particular, on the subject of regeneration and justification, he considered as 'pernicious' and tending to 'corrupt the Gospel.' His pamphlet soon crossed the Atlantic, where it was attentively examined by Dr. Hopkins, who transmitted to a friend on this side the water a complete refutation of several of Mr. Booth's positions, accompanied with some pointed strictures on the temper of his performance, and the inconclusive nature of his reasonings. The respect entertained for Mr. Booth, did not permit the printing of this valuable manuscript, and it obtained only a private circulation; for, whatever difference of opinion might exist on some speculative points, all parties were agreed in paying homage to his [Mr. B.'s] character. Mr. Fuller apologized to Dr. Hopkins for Mr. Booth's manner of writing, and his seeming contempt for contemporary authors, in a letter dated March 17, 1798; while he, at the same time, expressed his own opinion of the manuscript in question. 'I sincerely thank you,' says he, [Mr. Fuller to Dr. Hopkins,] 'for your remarks on Mr. Booth's performance; which every person of judgment who has seen them, within my knowledge, considers as a decisive refutation.'" * It was common for Hopkins to receive like testimonies of gratitude from his English friends, for his aid in their controversies.

Mr. Fuller encountered a severe opposition in consequence of his esteem for the "American theology." He was sometimes derisively called the "American doctor." † Very frequently was he reproached as an Arminian. "In fact," says his biographer, "so blind was the enmity directed against him, that one of the churches in his own neighborhood refused, for seven years, to hold communion with him, or to allow any of their members to have fellowship with his church." ‡ It is natural, therefore, that both Fuller and his biographer should feel desirous of dissociating his name with those peculiarities of American divines, which he did not approve. In a letter to Hopkins dated March 17, 1798, he specifies the following objections to Hopkins's "manner of writing," and also to the metaphysical tendencies of some more youthful writers in our land:

I. "I am not sure that your idea of God being 'the author of sin,' is essentially different from the notion of those Calvinists who consider sin as the object of divine decree; but I am satisfied of this, that to say 'God is the author of sin,' does so naturally convey to almost every mind the ideas that God is the friend and approver of sin; that we are mere passive instruments;

* See Morris's Life of Fuller, chapter xi.

† This may have been owing, in part, to the circumstance that he received a doctorate from the College of New Jersey, in 1796. This doctorate, however, was declined by Mr. Fuller, in a letter to Dr. Hopkins in 1798; as the same honor from Yale College was declined by him in 1805, in a letter to Dr. Dwight.

‡ Morris's Memoir of Fuller, chapter ix. See also Ryland's Life of Fuller, chapter viii. and Appendix.

and that he himself, being the grand agent, ought only to be accountable for it, — that I should think, by using it, I conveyed ideas directly contrary to James i. 13; and I must say, that the whole of that passage, taken together, appears to me to represent an important truth, which your manner of writing seems to overlook, and which is thus expressed by M'Laurin in his sermon on the passage: 'Whatever dishonorable thoughts sinful men may have of God to the contrary, yet it is a truth clearly evident, that God is infinitely free from the blame of their sins.' Your observations on the passage in the 4th chapter of your System, go only to prove that your views do not represent God as tempting men to sin, or as being tempted himself to sin; but you do not observe the *opposition* in the context, that evil is *not* to be ascribed to God, (ver. 13–15;) that every good and perfect gift *is* to be ascribed to God, (ver. 16–18.)"

II. "I have enjoyed great pleasure in reading many of your metaphysical pieces, and hope those who can throw light on evangelical subjects in that way, will continue to write. But I have observed that wherever an extraordinary man has been raised up, like President Edwards, who has excelled in some particular doctrines or manner of reasoning, it is usual for his followers and admirers too much to confine their attention to his doctrines or manner of reasoning, as though all excellence was there concentrated. I allow that your present writers do not implicitly follow Edwards, as to his sentiments, but that you preserve a spirit of free inquiry; yet I must say, it appears to me that several of your younger men possess a rage of imitating his metaphysical manner, till some of them become metaphysic mad. I am not without some of Mr. Scott's apprehensions, lest by such a spirit the simplicity of the gospel should be lost, and truth amongst you stand more in the wisdom of men than in the power of God."

Dr. Hopkins replied to this letter in the same fraternal spirit which prompted it. His answer is very instructive, as in it he disclaims all belief in the theory which Fuller condemns, respecting the divine agency in producing sin, and also discountenances all such use of metaphysics as appeared unsafe to his transatlantic friend. Fuller was objecting, not to strict Hopkinsianism, but to an erroneous view of it; not to the substance, but to Hopkins's expression of the doctrine, that God decrees the existence of sin and insures the fulfilment of his decrees. This is obvious from the ensuing reply, which contains nothing but a straightforward Calvinism dressed in the Hopkinsian style.

"Newport, October 12, 1798. Dear Sir: I feel myself much obliged to you for your letter to me of March 17, which did not come to hand till the third instant.

"I am far from wishing to say or do any thing to alter your opinion of the honesty and holiness of Mr. Booth; but, from what I have seen of his writings, — which are only his Reign of Grace and Glad Tidings, — I cannot consider him as a divine of a clear or orthodox head; and I think I have a divine warrant to say, that the religion which has its foundation on the principles he has asserted, both in his Glad Tidings and Reign of Grace, (see pp. 248, 270, of the later edition of 1795,) is altogether a selfish religion, and therefore abominable to God. (See Matt. iv. 46.)

"I could not see how his treatment of my sermons on Law and Regeneration could be reconciled with Christian candor or honesty. But as I am not so proper a judge of that matter as you are, I am willing the apology you make for him should be admitted.

"I am, I confess, a great enemy to that religion which originates in selfish-

ness, and consists wholly in it, as I am certain it is directly contrary to the religion which Jesus Christ inculcated; and fear that millions in the Christian world have perished, and are perishing with it. I have, for a number of years past, made exertions to detect and oppose it. And I am not surprised, that so many condemn me as carrying matters too far on this head. They appear to me to be unwilling this abominable idol should be wholly destroyed.

"I allow your observation to be in some measure just, that some American writers are 'metaphysic mad.' I know not, however, what writings you refer to, unless it be some pieces which have been published in the Theological Magazine. A number of them, especially those written by SPECULATOR, Vol. I. No. V., have offended many of the subscribers for the Magazine, and a number have withdrawn their subscription on that account. But very few Americans, and none, perhaps, but the author or authors, approve of writings of that complexion.

"You might well say, 'I am not sure that your notion of God being *the author of sin*, is essentially different from the idea of sin being *the object of a divine decree*.' You may be sure it is not, so far as you can rely on my declaration, and you can see any force in the arguments I have offered to prove there is no difference, and which I thought amounted to a demonstration. (See System, Chap. IV.) *

"To say that God is the author of sin, without any explanation and showing in what sense he may be said to be so, and in what sense he is not, would doubtless be wrong, and convey to those who do not understand the subject, wrong ideas, injurious to the divine character. I think I am not chargeable with this. I have endeavored to prove that God being, in the sense explained, the origin or cause of sin, does not imply any thing contrary to his infinite holiness, or that he is pleased with sin, considered in itself. (System, Chap. IV.)

"It is impossible to prevent wrong ideas on this subject, in those who are strongly prejudiced against the truth, and will not *think* carefully and impartially, or to stop their mouths. The doctrine that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, (which I have declared, and think I have proved implies all which I have advanced on the subject,) has been always objected to, as making God the author of sin, and implying 'that he is the friend and approver of sin.' Thousands and millions in the Christian world have *felt* and said this was true. And all that Calvinists have said to remove the objection from the minds of most, has not done it. And the objection cannot be well answered, without at the same time answering all the objections that are made to the divine agency in the existence of sin. The objection to the divine agency in originating sin, 'that we are passive instruments, and that he himself being the grand agent, ought only to be accountable for it,' is equally against God working in men to will and to do that which is good, as his agency in the existence of moral evil. They, therefore, who believe the former, cannot consistently make this objection to the latter. (See System, fourth chapter.) And, indeed, the objection has no foundation in reason, as, I think, has been fully shown in my System.

"On the whole, if God's decreeing or willing the existence of sin, and, consequently, doing all that without which it could not exist, and which ensures its existence, (the latter being necessarily implied in the former,) does represent him as being pleased with sin itself; then his decreeing and producing natural evil, does equally represent him as delighting in the misery of his creatures for its own sake, which is as inconsistent with his goodness

* Here is a definite proof, that Hopkins meant no more, by teaching that God is the author of sin, than is meant by teaching that God foreordains sin, and secures the fulfilment of his decree. He who does not believe this, may be a good man, but is no Calvinist.—The phraseology of Hopkins often does injustice to his real meaning.

as the former is with his holiness. And there is no way to obviate the objection against the latter, which will not equally remove that against the former. (See System, Chap. IV.)

"But what the apostle James says (chap. i. verse 13–18) is thought to be inconsistent with divine agency in the existence of sin, and 'teaches that evil *is not* to be attributed to God; but that every good and perfect gift, especially that of regeneration, is.'

"You observe, that 'my observations on the passage go only to prove that my views do not represent God as tempting men to sin.' If I have *proved* this, then the apostle's words are not contrary to my views, or inconsistent with the divine agency in the existence of sin. Consequently, his saying that every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, &c., is not opposed to this; but to his tempting men to sin, if opposed to any thing, (which is quite a different thing.) The apostle does not say, that God has no agency in any thing but that which is in itself good, and is not the origin and cause of that which is not in itself a good and perfect gift; but only that every such gift is from him, without affirming or implying that he has no agency in any existence or event which is not in itself a good and perfect gift, and which cannot properly be called *a gift*. The agency of God in producing natural evil is never represented in Scripture, I think, to be a gift, much less a good and perfect gift; because what is produced is in itself evil; and is consistent with every good gift coming from God; and asserting the latter does not deny the former, nor is in any degree inconsistent with it. This may be applied to moral evil with equal truth and propriety.

"If there were no other passage in the Bible but this, in which any thing is said relating to this subject, it might be liable to a misconstruction, and considered as asserting that moral evil did in no sense originate from divine agency. But since so much is said in the Scriptures on this point, and it is so often and in so many ways expressly asserted, that God hardens the hearts of men, and makes them obstinate, turns their hearts to hate what they ought to love, and puts it into their hearts to do that which is sinful, &c., &c., (see System, Vol. I. fourth chapter,) it is not reasonable to put a sense upon the words of James inconsistent with those numerous express declarations, and to which they cannot be reconciled without putting an unnatural, forced meaning upon them; especially since, taken in their natural meaning, they convey no idea inconsistent with the divine holiness, and with the freedom of man, and his being wholly blamable for every deviation in his heart from the divine law; and since they appear perfectly consistent with the words of James, upon a careful examination of them.

"I have been greatly pleased with the distinguished piety and zeal of Messrs. Carey and Thomas, and am glad to hear that they are of your sentiments, which I before hoped, and even supposed. We wish them success, and doubtless thousands are praying for them in America.

"I rejoice that any circumstances in England give you opportunity to spread your sentiments. I have, for some years, felt my heart united to Dr. Ryland, yourself, and Messrs. Sutcliff and Pearce, in esteem and affection. May prosperity attend your attempts to support and propagate the truth; to promote the cause of Christ and the salvation of sinners. I am your obliged, affectionate friend, S. Hopkins.

"Reverend Andrew Fuller."

There was one other point, on which Mr. Fuller held a controversial correspondence with Hopkins. It must have been grateful to our American divine, to perceive that the objections of his English friend related, not to the doctrines of ability, active sin, personally merited imputation, but to the less fundamental peculiarities

of the Hopkinsian faith. Referring to an epistle from the "mighty reasoner," Mr. Fuller writes:

"Dr. Hopkins thinks that I have given up the doctrine of disinterested love, because I have observed concerning David, — when he said, 'Here I am, let him do with me as seemeth good in his sight,' — that he *could* not mean by this, If God have no love to my soul, I submit to be forever separated from him; for such submission is not required of any who lives under a dispensation of mercy. — I have written an answer to Dr. Hopkins, in which I have defended that position. He is a mighty reasoner; but on this subject I feel my ground. Should he furnish a reply, the correspondence may hereafter be published."

The friendly correspondence of Hopkins with Dr. John Ryland, was as extensive as that with Andrew Fuller. It sometimes, though rarely, took the form of dispute; but in all his letters, Dr. Ryland never seems to controvert any of the more essential doctrines of Hopkins, such as those relating to the nature of sin, natural power, etc., but he criticizes the ambiguous propositions, that God is the author of moral evil, and that men should be willing to be lost. One of the last letters which Hopkins ever wrote, was a defence of his misunderstood opinions on these topics, against the criticisms of his very amiable friend.* The influence which Hopkins exerted upon "that disciple whom Jesus loved," is indicated in the following words of Robert Hall:

"The system of divinity to which he [Dr. Ryland] adhered, was moderate Calvinism, as modelled and explained by that prodigy of metaphysical acumen, the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. For the writings of this great man, and those of his followers,† he formed a warm predilection very early, which continued ever after to exert a powerful influence on his public ministry, as well as his theological inquiries and pursuits. It inspired him with the most elevated conceptions of the moral character of the Deity, to the display of which it taught him to refer the whole economy of providence and of grace, while he inculcated the indispensable duty of loving God, not merely for the benefits he bestows, but for what he is in himself, as essential to true religion. Hence, he held in abhorrence those pretended religious affections which have their termination in *self*. Whether he attached an undue importance to these speculations, and rendered them occasionally too prominent in his public ministrations, it is not for me to determine; it is certain that they effectually secured him from the slightest tendency to Antinomianism, and contributed not a little to give purity and elevation to his religious views. The two extremes, against which, you are well aware, he was most solicitous to guard the religious public were, Pelagian pride and Antinomian licentiousness; the first of which he detested as an insult on the grace of the gospel; the last, on the majesty and authority of the law."‡

* See the Letter at the end of vol. ii. of Hopkins's Works, new edition.

† To some it may appear singular, that Mr. Hall should denominate the theology of these men, "moderate Calvinism." It was "moderate Calvinism," in some of its relations, and "high Calvinism," in other relations.

‡ See "Funeral Sermon for Dr. Ryland," in Hall's Works, vol. i. pp. 220, 221. It could not have been expected that Mr. Hall, so sensitive to the graces of English style, should be an admirer of "the American divines of the Hopkinsian stamp." In 1800–1801, he uttered a sharp criticism upon them, "President Edwards always excepted," who was considered by Mr. Hall as bearing "the Hopkinsian stamp." Hall was

That Hopkins was one of the principal Edwardeans who had this power over the English divine, is evident from several facts. Dr. Ryland was wont to express a higher reverence for our author, than for any other of President Edwards's disciples. He maintained a more instructive correspondence with Hopkins than with any American divine. He was introduced by Hopkins to Dr. West and others, who continued, through their correspondence, to preserve, in their estimable friend, the same regard which had been cherished in him by the Newport divine, for our Edwardean theology.

Q. *Home Correspondence on Theology.*

More than two hundred of Hopkins's letters to Dr. Buell, Dr. Davies, and New England ministers and laymen, are still preserved. A large number of these are theological. Some of them show his activity in exciting his brethren to those labors, which have resulted in so much of spiritual benefit to our churches. As Robert Hall loved to set his "brother Fuller's troops in motion," so Hopkins gave impulse to minds which worked nobly for their race. The world are indebted to him for various animating letters, like the following to Bellamy:

"February 20, 1755. I find three neighboring ministers have a great esteem of *Mr. Ashley's* sermons on *Churches consisting of Saints*; and I believe it is generally thought, by those that oppose Mr. Edwards, to be the best thing that has been published, and even unanswerable. Mr. Williams's piece is wholly done with, and this is trumpeted up. Now, if Mr. Ashley's scheme is built upon a *nonentity*, (*alias*, upon a few of his peremptory assertions only,) and contains a number of palpable contradictions, would it not answer a good end to have this well made out before the world? I think it may easily be done, if undertaken by one equal to the task; and since Mr. Edwards will not deign so much as to read Ashley's performance, if I had the ordering of the matter, I would allot this business to *you*. — A sermon upon the same text, and in much the same method with Mr. Ashley's, with a few particular observations upon Mr. Ashley's, in an Appendix, might perhaps answer the end well. If this is not the best method, then set Paulinus and Agrippa to dialoguing."

One more extract from his letters, will illustrate the abstruse and philosophical style in which some of them are written. The following is a part of a truly Edwardean communication to President Davies, of Princeton:

"April 22, 1760. Reverend and honored Sir: As I was with the Rev. Mr. Bellamy about the time yours of the third of February came to hand, he gave me one of the questions you proposed to be considered and answered, and insisted on my writing my thoughts upon it, and sending them to you. This

particularly severe against the excellent Dr. Spring, of Newburyport. But Mr. Morris, in recording this criticism, says: "It is not believed he [Mr. Hall] would have formed exactly the same opinion at a later period of life." See Morris's Recollections of Robert Hall, pp. 95, 96.

must be my apology for what I have now undertaken; not, indeed, to give you any light and instruction, but for my own profit and the advantage of truth. For I consider myself as one of your pupils, to whom you give out questions, that by answering them they may improve their own minds, and give you an opportunity and advantage to correct their mistakes, and communicate the instruction you are able to give.

"You query, 'Is happiness so essential to the goodness of the universe, that it is by so much the more perfect or excellent, by how much the more happiness there is in it?'

"I answer in the affirmative. Doubtless happiness is something *in itself* valuable, which is to be valued, desired, and sought, for its own sake. And if so, then the more there is of it the better; and that system which has the most happiness in it, is the best and most perfect; and that plan alone is absolutely perfect, in which there is provision for the highest possible degree of happiness. This appears to me undeniably true, unless there is something which is in itself of greater worth and importance, and so more to be valued than happiness, with which the greatest possible degree of happiness is inconsistent; so that the more happiness there is in the universe, the less there will be of that. On such a supposition, [the system is not the most perfect which admits the greatest degree of happiness, but the system is the most perfect] * which admits more of that which is more valuable and excellent than happiness, and which the greatest degree of happiness necessarily excludes.

"But is there any such thing possible in nature? Perhaps it will be said, Yes, — the glory of God is of more worth than the happiness of the creature, and therefore happiness must give way to this, and that system is most perfect and excellent in which God's glory is most displayed, though it be at the expense of the creature's happiness; for *misery may be equally*, yea, more *illustrative of the divine glory* than happiness.

"I answer, Though it may be true that, in order to the greatest display of God's glory, there must be misery, yet it does not follow, that the brightest display of the divine glory is inconsistent with the greatest possible degree of happiness. It may be necessary, in order to the greatest possible degree of happiness, that there should be a great degree of misery; yea, it may be necessary in order to the greatest possible degree of happiness, that there should be the greatest possible display of the divine glory. If the happiness of the creature consists, summarily, in the knowledge and enjoyment of God, then the happiness of the creature will keep pace with the manifestations God makes of himself; so that God's glorifying himself in the highest possible degree, is not only not inconsistent with, but necessary to, the greatest possible happiness, and they are both inseparably cemented together.

"What is meant by the glory of God, or God's glorifying himself, but his communicating himself *ad extra* to the creature, — to the understanding and will of intelligences in knowledge, holiness, and happiness? If so, then God's highest declarative glory and the greatest degree of holiness and happiness are inseparably united. And [though] we are wont to speak of the glory of God and the happiness of the creature as distinct things, and as different and separate ends which God has in view in his works, yet, perhaps, in reality they are but one and the same, and therefore viewed as such by the divine, all-comprehending Mind. We shall see this point particularly considered, when the late President Edwards's Dissertation on the End of God in Creating the World is published.

"The way is now prepared for an answer to the last clause of your question, — 'May not the permission of sin be vindicated, without supposing it is subservient to the greater happiness?'

"I answer in the negative. For it cannot be vindicated, without supposing

* One line of the manuscript is illegible.

it is for the greater glory of God; and this necessarily supposes that 'tis for the greater happiness.

"Perhaps some will object to all this, that 'tis certain that there is not so much happiness in the universe as there might have been; and, therefore, if the more happiness there is, the more perfect and excellent it is, the universe is not so perfect and excellent as it might have been. God might have made a thousand intelligences to behold his glory and be happy in communications from him, where there is one now; and then there would have been a thousand times as much happiness, as now there is or ever will be. Now, if the more happiness there is, the more perfect and excellent the universe is, why has not God created more to be happy? Why does he confine himself to so small a number?

"Answer I. The same objection may be made to the hypothesis, that the more God is glorified, the more perfect and excellent the universe is, and that this is sought as distinct from and inconsistent with the greatest happiness. It may be said, that God has not glorified himself so much as he might; for he might have made a thousand worlds where he has made one, and so have made much greater displays of his own glory.

"Answer II. This objection must be groundless and absurd, it being no more of an objection against God's creating no more intelligences to be happy than he has, than it would be against God's creating no more, if he had created millions of millions where he has one. The question might still be asked, with as much propriety as now it is, Why did he not create more? This is a demand which cannot be satisfied; for, I may say, God could not create so many, but that more might have been created. The question would still remain, Why did he not create more? Now, that objection which is made against a particular case, as being so rather than otherwise, is certainly frivolous, which equally lies against all other supposable cases. 'Tis a senseless question, which demands why God did not create a thousand intelligences where he has one, when, if he had, there would be just as much reason to object against his creating no more, and to ask why he did not create a million,—and so on, *in infinitum*.

"In order to the greatest display of God's glory, and the highest possible degree of happiness, there must (notwithstanding any thing we know) be a certain precise number of happy creatures, with such capacities and in such circumstances. And as infinite wisdom was perfectly able to determine this, doubtless that very number, those very capacities and circumstances, have been pitched upon by God, which will in the best and highest degree answer this end and produce the greatest possible happiness; or, in other words, by which God may communicate himself in the best and fullest manner, and to the highest possible degree.

"Mr. T. Edwards informs me, that you desire a short sketch of President Edwards's private life. This is a very difficult task, and I think it quite impossible for me to do justice to the memory of that great and eminently pious man, in such an attempt; yet perhaps silence, in such a case, would be yet greater injustice.—[Mr. Hopkins here gives a lengthened account of Edwards's religious and social habits.]

"The hope and joy of many, which were greatly raised upon Mr. Edwards's being invested with the presidency of Nassau Hall, were soon damped by his sudden departure. But God, in his great goodness, has caused a new day to dawn. I shall doubtless speak the sentiments of all the greatest and best friends to Mr. Edwards and the interests of the college, when I say that the vacancy is supplied more to their satisfaction than [it] could have been in any other person. And I cannot but congratulate you, worthy sir, on your being placed in this station so much to the general acceptance of the public, and of the college in particular; in which you have opportunity to improve your talents to such noble purposes. May it be seen that you have caught the falling mantle, and [may it] be said, 'The spirit (yea, a double portion of the spirit)

of Elijah doth rest on Elisha!' May you be enabled to answer the expectations of all the friends of Zion, and become a most extensive blessing to the church of Christ."

R. *Collected Works.*

Nearly all the published works of Dr. Hopkins, comprising more than two thousand octavo pages, were reprinted in 1852, by the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society. The writings not reprinted by the Society, are his four Biographies, his "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's Late Dialogue," and the larger part of his essays for the periodicals. It is a fitting tribute to the memory of this philanthropist, that a Society founded by his reverential disciples, and aided by one of his estimable grandsons, should rise up to fulfil a prophecy which he once intimated in his modest way: "I still believe, [that my system] is, *in the main*, right. Dr. Cotton Mather, who published sixty books or more, which had not a very current sale, said to his printer, 'After I am dead, they will read my books.'"

Sect. XLV. HOPKINS'S CONFIDENCE IN HIS THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

The last quotation suggests the fact, that with all the modesty of our author, he had a manly faith in his own creed; and with all his confidence in that creed as a whole, he believed and hoped that his successors would make improvements upon it. "There is no reason to doubt," he says in his seventy-second year, "that light will so increase in the church, and men will be raised up, who will make such advances in opening the Scripture and in the knowledge of divine truth, that what is now done and written will be so far superseded as to appear imperfect and inconsiderable, compared with that superior light, with which the church will then be blessed." * It is honorable for the leader of a school to avow, after a life of suffering for his faith, that his own scheme is not perfect, and that in the millennium a church will arise, "which will have all that is good, right, and excellent in the different denominations and churches that exist now or have been, and will renounce all the superstitions and corruptions, in principle or practice, which have taken place." † In his seventy-seventh year, this veteran in theology said to his friend Dr. Ryland:

"As to my writings, I have not the least doubt of the truth and importance of most of the sentiments I have published, but do not pretend to be certain that every thing I have proposed is true, or that I have explained and vindicated every doctrine in the best manner. I do not wish any one to receive what I have written implicitly; but think I have a right to be heard without prejudice and with candor. I thank you for the pains you have taken to effect

* Preface to his System.
† Hopkins's Works, vol. ii. p. 75.

this.* It is with pleasure I expect to have all the mistakes and errors in my publications detected and exploded; and all the truth contained in them set in a much clearer and more advantageous light; and great advances made, far beyond what I have attained, or even all the divines who have written."

In his extreme old age, he was "asked by a clergyman, whether, if he should write his System over again, he would not make some alterations in it. He replied, 'I do not arrogate to myself infallibility, and perhaps some things in it might be altered to advantage.' 'But would you,' continued the clergyman, 'make any alteration in the sentiments?' Raising his withered arm, and kindling with the glow of youthful energy, he brought it down with a solemn and emphatic — '*No: I am willing to rest my soul on them forever.*'"†

About two years before his death, he said to his people, in a sermon:

"I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God, so far as I have understood what it was. . . . . Some of the doctrines which I have preached and published have been opposed from the press and the pulpit, and more privately, and have not been understood, and [have been] represented as horrible and mischievous, tending to destroy all true religion, &c. But all this has no impression on me, to excite the least doubt of the truth of the doctrines so opposed, or to incline me to cease to assert and vindicate them. I have such clear and full conviction, and unshaken confidence, that the doctrines which I have for a long course of years preached and maintained, are the truths contained in the Bible, that I stand as a brazen wall, unhurt, and not moved by all the shafts of opposition and reproach which have been levelled at me, and the system of truth and religion which I have espoused; being assured that it will stand forever; and certain beyond a doubt, from Scripture, reason, and experience, that a cordial belief and love of these truths, with religious exercises and conduct agreeable to them, is connected with salvation, and is a sufficient ground of support and comfort under the greatest trials, and in the nearest view of death and eternity. On this foundation I cheerfully rest my eternal interest, which indeed is infinite, and invite all to do the same."‡

The discourse from which the preceding paragraph is taken, was published a few weeks before its author's death. It is eminently characteristic of him. A man so modest and lowly must have had a firm confidence in the truth and the worth of his speculations, or he would not have dared to preach, still less to publish, a sermon entitled "The Author's Farewell to the World." An equally interesting illustration of the same faith overpowering his personal diffidence, is seen in the Dedication of his Treatise on the Millennium. It is dedicated "To the People who shall live in the Days of the Millennium;" and it commences thus:

"*Hail, ye happy People, highly favored of the Lord.* To you the following treatise on the Millennium is dedicated, as you will live in that happy era,

* Dr. Ryland had exerted himself much to circulate Hopkins's System and his other works, in England.

† Ferguson's Memoir, p. 153. See also Patten's Reminiscences, Introduction, pp. xi. xii.

‡ See Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. pp. 768, 769.

and enjoy the good of it in a much higher degree than it can now be enjoyed in the prospect of it; and that you may know, if this book shall be conveyed down to your time, what is now thought of you, and of the happy day in which you will come on the stage of life. You will be able to see the mistakes which are now made on this head; and how far what is advanced here is agreeable to that which is noted in the Scripture of truth, and a true and proper description of the events which are to take place, and to rectify every mistake. All is therefore humbly submitted to your better judgment."

This "Dedication to the Millenarians" was condemned by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, as the reader has perceived on p. 207 above. It is, however, as an exhibition of a modest man's assurance, so peculiar that it would have been a pity to expunge it.

Sect. XLVI. TESTIMONIES IN FAVOR OF HOPKINS AND OF HIS THEOLOGY.

Throughout this Memoir many expressions have been made, indicating the deference with which Mr. Hopkins was treated by some of his contemporaries. Without recurring to those expressions, we will simply refer to a few other testimonies which were given in favor of this much injured man.

At a time when a doctorate of divinity meant something, Mr. Hopkins received that honor from Brown University. It was given him in 1790, at the same time that the degree of "doctor of laws" was conferred by the same university upon George Washington. It was conferred during the presidency of Dr. Manning, who was not on terms of personal friendship with the leading Congregationalists of Newport. But the excellence of Mr. Hopkins's character secured the esteem of all candid men.

Dr. Patten narrates the following incident:

"Some time after Dr. Hopkins had sent his manuscript 'System of Divinity,' to be printed, he was obliged to go to Boston to inspect the press. While there, Dr. Clarke, who had been the colleague and was then the successor of Dr. Chauncy, invited him to preach the Thursday lecture for him. Dr. H. declined. 'Why, are you not in health?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Why then,' replied Dr. Clarke, with urgency, 'do you decline?' 'Since you are so candid as to wish me to preach, [said Dr. Hopkins,] I will tell you the reason. My manner is not polished, and my doctrines do not agree with yours, and I cannot accommodate myself to the occasion as your substitute; and if I preach at all, it must be as I am accustomed to preach in my own pulpit, and this, if it should not be a mortification to you, might bring on you some reproach.' 'I do not wish,' replied Dr. Clarke, 'that you should attempt to accommodate yourself to any one; you cannot gratify me more than to preach your own doctrines, in your own way. This is precisely what I wish.' 'Then,' said Dr. H., 'I will preach.' It providentially happened, that a Scotch gentleman of Roxbury, [nearly related to] Governor Sumner's wife, was at the lecture. On leaving the house, he expressed strong approbation of the preacher; said he was such a looking man and such a preacher as he had been accustomed to hear in Scotland; and on learning his name, and that he had a small and pre-

carious salary, made him a present, to the amount, it is believed, of five or six hundred dollars." *

The reputation which Dr. Hopkins's works acquired in Great Britain, in the day when men asked, "Who reads an American book?"—was a sign of their intrinsic value. Such men as Pearce, Thomson, Carey, Sutcliff, expressed in various ways their regard for the "pious metaphysician." The Earl of Buchan sent an elegant portrait of himself, as "a token of his warm attachment," to Dr. Hopkins. There were more subscribers for his System in Great Britain, than among all the "white inhabitants" of Rhode Island.

A signal honor which Dr. Hopkins has received, is the esteem of all his theological opposers who were personally acquainted with him. No divine in this country, has felt a greater repugnance than Dr. Channing, to our author's creed; and the encomiums of Channing were elicited simply by the fact, that he *knew* the character of the man who was regarded as so much better than his creed. By whom was the New Divinity more steadfastly opposed, during the last century, than by President Stiles? But in the very height of his opposition to it, he discloses his own and the general opinion, that Hopkins was both a great and a good man. His statements are instructive, even when they are incorrect. They illustrate the character of the resistance, which was made to what he calls "the *Eurekas* of New Divinity." In the satirical style of the following extract from his Literary Diary, he reveals much that is honorable to his chief opponent:

"August 10, 1787. Reverend Messrs. Hopkins, West, Amzi Lewis, Fowler, and some few other New Divinity gentlemen, are beginning to hold, that the faith of parents in the act of baptismal dedication insures grace and real holiness to baptized children. Reverend Messrs. Sanford, (brother-in-law of Mr. Hopkins,) Emmons, Smalley, Foster, and some others, are beginning to concur with Mr. Bacon in denying a real vicarious suffering in Christ's atonement. They hold atonement, but deny it in the orthodox and Calvinistic sense. Messrs. Hopkins, West, &c., differ from them, and hold the atonement in the just, scriptural sense. The New Divinity gentlemen are getting into confusion, and running into different sentiments. They are generally giving up the doctrine of *imputation*, both in *original sin*, and in *justification*. They are dropping and leaving off the diction of 'love to being in general,' as describing the nature of holiness; and some of them, receding from disinterested benevolence, are going into the idea, that all holy motive operates as terminating in personal happiness, while others are still willing to be damned for the glory of God and the good of the universe.

"They (New Divinity gentlemen) perceive some of the pillars are removed, and others shaken and falling; President Edwards has been dead twenty-nine years, or a generation; Dr. Bellamy is broken down, both body and mind, with a paralytic shock, and can dictate and domineer no more; Mr. Hopkins still continues, but past his force, having been somewhat affected by a fit and nervous debilitation; Mr. West is declining in health, and, besides, was never felt so strong rods as the others. It has been the *ton*, to direct students in

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 130–132.

divinity, these thirty years past, to read the Bible, President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and Mr. Hopkins's writings;—and this was a pretty good sufficiency of reading. But now the younger class, but yet in full vigor, suppose they see further than these oracles, and are disposed to become oracles themselves, and wish to write theology and have their books come into vogue. The very New Divinity gentlemen say, they perceive a disposition among several of their brethren to struggle for preëminence;—particularly Dr. Edwards, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Smalley, Mr. Judson, Mr. Spring, Mr. Robinson,* Mr. Strong of Hartford, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Emmons, and others. They all want to be Luthers. But they will none of them be equal to those strong personages, President Edwards and Mr. Hopkins.

"President Edwards's valuable writings in another generation will pass into as transient notice, perhaps, as scarce above oblivion, as Willard, or Twiss, or Norton; and when posterity occasionally comes across them in the rubbish of libraries, the rare characters who may read and be pleased with them, will be looked upon as singular and whimsical, as in these days are admirers of Suarez, Aquinas, or Dion. Areopagita."†

The progress of his opinions was still more honorable to Hopkins, than were the respectful allusions of his antagonists. Can any one doubt, that he has been a means of raising the standard of theology among us, far above that which would have been attained under the influence of his opponents? Hundreds of New England clergymen have made, substantially, the same remark which has been repeated by Professor Stuart: "After reading Dr. Hopkins's System of Divinity, a number of President Edwards's Treatises, several of Andrew Fuller's, a part of Ridgley's Body of Divinity, and some of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and a part of Prideaux's Connection, I was examined and licensed to preach, by the neighboring Association of Ministers."‡ This relation of Hopkins to the clergy of New England, gave him an influence over them which is now too much forgotten.

The following letter to one of his best friends illustrates the honest, religious spirit of our author, his freedom from personal aims in

* A strong-minded man, father of Professor Robinson, the author of "Researches," etc.

† Stiles's Literary Diary. It is well known that the clergymen here mentioned by Dr. Stiles, differed in some respects from the Newport divine, for they were independent thinkers; yet they were all termed Hopkinsians, in that day, and enjoyed the confidence of Hopkins himself.—It ought to be understood, that several of the clergymen whom Dr. Stiles thus compared with Hopkins, were at that time very young men.

‡ The course here specified was marked out by President Dwight. As Dr. Stiles, in the preceding extract, and as Dr. Hopkins, in his letters, have both mentioned the name of Dwight in connection with the New Divinity, it may be proper to say, that this great man was in early life so much in favor of the Hopkinsian peculiarities, that he wrote an essay to prove man's obligation to be willing to be lost, if the glory of God should require the sacrifice. Subsequently, however, he burned the manuscript. Dr. Hopkins often writes in a eulogistic style, about "young Dwight." As late as 1798, he says: "I think Dr. Dwight's discourse to the citizens of New Haven, on the fourth of July, to be a *masterly performance*; in which he has outdone himself, and all the many publications of orations, &c., on that day. I wish it may have another edition, if not more."—It was a noble trait of Hopkins, that he was inclined, in his old age, to speak well of young men, and had disciplined himself, as very few others have done, to say with composure, "He must increase, but I must decrease."

his theological studies, his full assurance that Hopkinsianism is the same in essence with Edwardeanism, and his modest, unselfish gratitude for the triumph of those principles which he was foremost in defending, and with which his interests were bound up.

To Reverend Andrew Fuller. — "Newport, October 15, 1799. Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter of August 12, which came to hand on the twelfth instant, and brings much agreeable intelligence. That concerning Mr. Pearce is grievous, as it represents him as near to death; since the loss of such an excellent man, in the prime of life, is great, and appears to us very undesirable. Yet there is ground of consolation in this, that Christ has raised up such a man, and continued him so long, and done so much by him, and he is now going to receive a rich reward. And the Lord is able to raise up many more accomplished and excellent men, and will do it when he shall want them, for which we have the greatest encouragement as well as a divine command to pray; to which the removal of this our dear and worthy friend is a strong incitement. My heart has been in a sensible and peculiar degree united to Mr. Pearce, since I saw his writings and perceived his connection with you, Dr. Ryland, &c.

"Since I first heard of Carey and Thomas, I was pleased with their character, — that of Carey especially, — and have had fond hopes that great things will be done by them, and those who may be added to them. I rejoice in the zeal and liberality of the people in promoting that design. May the blessing of thousands who are ready to perish come on you and them. I yet hope the report of the ship Duff being taken by the French will prove not true. But if it prove true, we have stable and sufficient ground of support and consolation in the exalted Head of the Church, who orders *all things, all events*, from the greatest to the smallest, in the most wise and best manner, so as to answer his own ends exactly; by which he will be glorified in the highest degree, and the greatest possible good to the universe will be effected. On this ground we stand firm and unshaken, in the midst of all the evils and revolutions which surround us, and are able to *rejoice always*.

"I am pleased to hear that Edwardean principles are gaining ground and spreading, as I am certain that every contrary scheme of principles [is irreconcilable with] the Bible, and that all or most of the late remarkable exertions to send missionaries among the heathen, and propagate the gospel among others in Europe and America, have originated in a *poor shoemaker*, from having imbibed these principles. I believe all the missionary societies lately formed in America, owe their rise to those formed in England, and their extraordinary exertions. There are five of these societies now in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts States, the leaders in all which, except one, (if that is to be excepted,) are Edwardeans. The Massachusetts Society, which has been formed this year, consists wholly of Edwardeans, which is [likely] to increase and flourish.* That in Connecticut consists of the General Association of Ministers, chosen annually from each of the particular Associations in the State. They have chosen twelve trustees, and these are to be chosen yearly, to manage the business of the society in their recess, and are accountable to them. The trustees consist of six ministers and as many laymen. The trustees they have chosen this year are all Edwardeans, which is an evidence, among many others, that men of these principles prevail, and are esteemed.

"These principles are gaining ground fast in New England. More men of these principles are ordained in churches than others, and they are the most popular preachers. And some of those who have been prejudiced against these principles and opposed them, begin now to think more favorably of them, and to own that many Edwardeans are men of the best abilities. And

* See p. 64 of this Memoir.

well may they allow this, when we have Drs. West, Edwards, Dwight, Trumbull, Emmons, Messrs. Hart, Strong, Spring, Backus, &c., &c., &c.

"There are four presidents of colleges who are Edwardeans — Dr. Edwards, of Union College, in Schenectady, sixteen miles north-west of Albany, which is richly endowed; Dr. Dwight, of Yale College, in New Haven; Mr. Fitch, of Williams College, in Williamstown, Berkshire County, Massachusetts; Mr. Balch, of Greenville College, in the new State of Tennessee, west of the Carolinas. From these seminaries, we may reasonably hope, there will issue numbers of pious young men of good principles, to supply our vacant churches; as many have already come forth from Yale, Dartmouth, and Providence Colleges, and are settled in the ministry, with a number of other pious men who have not had a public education.

"But what appears most favorable now to the spread of our principles and of true religion, is a great and remarkable revival of religion, which is spread wider and has risen higher than any thing of the kind has done in America, for above fifty years. It has taken place in the west and north-west parts of Connecticut, and in the States of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. It is said to be in above one hundred towns and parishes. There appears to be little or no enthusiasm. It goes on in a still, but strong and energetic manner. Many thousands have been the subjects of deep and strong convictions, and great numbers are hopefully converted. And it is to be remarked, that this revival has taken place in almost all, if not in every instance, under the preaching of those ministers who have embraced Edwardean principles. We hope it is yet on the increase, and will bear all before it.

"As to the Baptists, they have appeared to increase of late years in many places in America; but they have generally had a tincture of enthusiasm and Antinomianism, and believe that all true faith is an *appropriating* faith, *i. e.*, it is a belief that Christ died for me, &c., or that this is necessarily implied in saving faith. Hence, their converts generally become so by first believing that they shall be saved, or to that purpose, and many pass for converts among them of whom I much doubt. But there is a prospect that there will be a favorable revolution of principles among them, and it is, indeed, already begun. I know of eight or ten ministers of that denomination who discard the principles of Dr. Gill, &c., and have imbibed those of Edwards. Some of them have but lately risen on the stage, and are men of good abilities and hopeful piety. I am glad you are writing on the subject you mention. If I should live till it can come to America, I hope for the pleasure and profit of reading it. If you have not seen Strong, entitled Benevolence and Misery, I shall desire Mr. Davis, of New York, to send it to Dr. Ryland or you.

"As to myself, I was taken with a paralytic stroke last January, which affected the limbs of my right side and my speech, so that I was unable to perform any public service for some months; but I am now most mercifully recovered, so that I am able to walk and to preach, and to write thus after a sort with difficulty; but my dearest partner will transcribe it before it goes to you. I was seventy-eight years old the last month, and do not expect to continue much longer in the body, nor do I desire it. I have a pleasing hope of a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; where I also hope to see you. — Mrs. Hopkins is my second wife, and is seventeen years younger than I am. She will transcribe this, with a heart full of love to you and your dear friends. I am yours in the strongest bonds, S. Hopkins."

The preceding letter was written in the seventy-ninth year of the author's life. In the seventy-fifth year he writes:

"About forty years ago, there were but few, perhaps not more than four or five, who espoused the sentiments which since have been called *Edwardean*, and *New Divinity*; and since, after some improvement was made upon them, *Hopkintonian*, or *Hopkinsian* sentiments. But these sentiments have so spread

since that time among ministers, especially those who have since come on the stage, that there are now more than one hundred in the ministry who espouse the same sentiments, in the United States of America. And the number appears to be fast increasing, and these sentiments appear to be coming more and more into credit, and are better understood, and the odium which was cast on them and those who preached them, is greatly subsided." *

It appears, then, that about the year 1756, there were, in our land, four or five Edwardean clergymen; in 1773, there were forty or fifty; † and in 1796, there were more than a hundred. But the spirit of the New Divinity was in the hearts of thousands, who did not favor it in all its forms. The term, "Hopkinsian," soon became the common designation of those evangelical or orthodox divines who favored the doctrines of general atonement, natural ability, the active nature of all holiness and sin, and the justice of God in imputing to men none but their own personal transgressions. Throughout some parts of the land, Hopkinsianism became a synonyme for New England divinity, and one of its decided antagonists said in 1817, that "a very large majority of the professors of religion in the United States, are either Hopkinsians or entire Arminians, and as such, opposed to the doctrine of a definite atonement." ‡ Now the bare fact, that the name Hopkinsian has been applied to such multitudes of enterprising Christians, is one among many signs of the power which Hopkins has exerted, directly or indirectly, on men who disowned some of his peculiar tenets.

Sect. XLVII. FAMILIAR CONFERENCES.

In his later years, our indefatigable pastor recommenced, with some modification, an exercise which he instituted at the beginning of his pastoral life at Newport. § It was a Socratic conversation, for which he seems to have been singularly adapted. One of his successors in the ministry ‖ says of him: "There is no doubt that he was incapable of appearing to advantage in any party of *brilliants*, but in a social circle of intelligent friends, he was cheerful, interesting, incomparable. And this excellence of the Doctor increased as he advanced in life." He is uniformly represented by his

* Sketches, pp. 102, 103.

† See p. 129 of this Memoir. — In 1777, Dr. Edwards, of New Haven, informed Dr. Stiles, that there were three parties among the clergy of Connecticut: "the *Arminians*, who he said were a small party; the *New Divinity gentlemen*, of whom he said he was called one, — who were larger, he said, but still small; and the main body of the ministers, which he said were *Calvinistic*." — The friends of the New Divinity called themselves not Calvinists, so much as "consistent Calvinists."

‡ See "A Historical Sketch of Opinions on the Atonement," etc., by James R. Willson, A. M., pp. 130, 131, 133, 196, 197, 198, 210, 215.

§ See p. 34 of this Memoir.

‖ Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, who was ordained at Newport in the fourteenth year after the death of Hopkins.

Christian admirers, as having shone most of all in familiar discourse on the themes of religious experience. And the above-named exercise, which he conducted in his old age with peculiar comfort to himself, and with an interest still remembered by many who enjoyed it, illustrates this representation. It is thus described by one who often attended it:

"Among the occasional services of Dr. H. was a conference meeting at his own house. This meeting was strictly a conference, and was highly interesting and useful. [It was] conducted in the following manner. After singing and prayer, one or two present collected in writing, questions from as many as desired the resolution of any doubt, or the discussion of any subject, and brought the papers and laid them on the table before Dr. H. He read them, and then taking the first, he requested several of the most judicious persons to express their opinion of it in succession. If he agreed with either of them, he would state it and give his reasons for it. If he differed from the whole, he would express his opinion either by a quotation from some writer, or by making a statement with an illustration.

"To adduce an instance. One evening there was this question, 'What is the order of exercises, when a soul is converted to God?' One to whom it was referred, answered, 'When a sinner is convinced of sin, he always attempts to recommend himself by works of righteousness; finding this ineffectual, and under apprehensions of punishment, he looks to Christ for pardon, and in this way finds acceptance and peace. When it came to Dr. H., he observed, 'The sinner must be convinced of sin, and as sin is a transgression of the law, he is arraigned before God as lawgiver and judge. It is necessary for him to approve of the law, though he be condemned by it; for it is impossible that he should repent of having transgressed the law, while he indulges enmity to the law, or to God as lawgiver, and it is impossible for him to exercise true faith in Christ, as He came not to abolish but to honor the law. To hope in Christ for pardon, and then approve of God and of the law because one's sins are forgiven, is productive of false peace, and is a delusion. It is wholly a selfish act. The condition of the sinner when the law is before him is very trying and distressing. It is a point at which his heart naturally rises in the greatest enmity against God. But when he is brought to approve of the law, he finds that God, instead of executing judgment, exercises mercy. He is prepared to see the provision made for his salvation by Jesus Christ, and he embraces Him with inexpressible joy. This,' said Dr. H., 'as appears from the Scriptures and the nature of the case, must be the order of the exercises, though many true converts are not conscious of it. Especially the act of submission may be followed so instantaneously with the experience of pardon, that it may be overlooked; but it *has* been experienced, and is of essential importance in the case.'" *

Among the papers of Dr. Hopkins is found still another answer, which appears to have been given to another question proposed at this conference. It illustrates the philosophical style of his practical meditations.

"How can we pray to an *unchangeable God*, who has already determined what he will do, and what shall be in every instance, and will not alter any thing?

"Answer. Many things may be said to show the reasonableness and importance of prayer to an unchangeable God; and they will offer themselves

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 108–111.

to any considerate, pious person, almost at first thought. But these shall not be mentioned now. We will rather attend to the case of a person who, when on his knees in his devotions, has this thought impressed on his mind of God's unchangeable purposes, so as to put a stop to his proceeding to put up any petition. What shall he do?

"Answer. Let him not try to pray, nor give over his devotions. Let all be turned into *praise*, giving glory to God, and rejoicing that he does reign, and does what he pleases in heaven and earth, — that all things are unchangeably fixed by infinite wisdom and goodness, &c., &c. This will be the natural effect of such a view and impression, if it be from God. If it be a suggestion from Satan, it is with a design to interrupt and put a stop to devotion; and to improve it in the manner above mentioned, will be the most direct and effectual way to oppose and defeat him.

"The same direction may be given if it be suggested to a person, that the *goodness* of God is so infinitely great, and particularly so great toward his children, that there is no need of asking him to do any thing for them; yea, it will be wicked arrogance to do it, as it must arise from a doubt of his goodness, and a thought of ourselves as more kind to them than he is, so that there is need of our *pleading* with him on their behalf, &c. If this suggestion stop him in his petitions for his Christian friends, then let his devotions be immediately turned into thanksgiving to God, and praises for his goodness. And this is the likeliest way to prepare his mind to return to his petitions and prayers."

Thus did the aged divine realize the idea, that the church is a school and the Christian is a student. He could not have been a popular minister, unless in an uncommonly meditative age.

Sect. XLVIII. HOUSEHOLD LIFE AT NEWPORT.

And had the hero of all these wars, political and theological, any domestic relations? What time had he for his family? We have already noticed* the afflictive state of his wife's health, the death of all his daughters, and of one son, and the dispersion of his four surviving children. After lingering twenty years in a state of scrofulous consumption, his wife was relieved from all her pains, in the sixty-eighth year of her age. She had been advised to leave the sea air of Rhode Island, for the sake of gaining strength among her native hills. With a hope of this gain, her husband accompanied her to his former parish, in May, 1793; but she died on the last day of the ensuing August. She now lies buried among her children and children's children, in the beautiful village of Great Barrington.

As early at least as 1764, Mr. Hopkins had met Miss Elizabeth West in the Praying Circle of the Old South Church, Boston. He then formed, and ever afterward retained, an exalted opinion of her Christian character. She left Boston, her native town, for the country during the revolutionary war, and then became acquainted with some of the families who had left Newport at the same time. They persuaded her to establish, after the war, a boarding school at

* See Section xvi.

Newport. She was successful in this school, having pupils from Norwich, New London, and from some of the first families on Rhode Island. She was a faithful member of the Osborn Society. She was a divine. Few masters of the New Divinity had a more intelligent conviction of its truth, than she. Some of her letters to Dr. Hart and Dr. West, are worthy of a theological veteran. She had a depth of Christian experience commending her to the friendship of her pastor. She taught her school in his house, during the later months of her remaining a teacher. On the fourteenth of September, 1791, she was married to him. The ceremony, he says, "was performed in public, on the Sabbath, by Mr. Patten, in the morning, before the public exercises began. Our proceeding, and the manner in which it was done, has had the approbation of all my friends, and of the whole congregation, so far as I can learn." At the time of her marriage, she was fifty-five years of age, and he was seventy-three. They had been acquainted in prayer meetings, more than thirty years. After his death, as during his life, she manifested the deepest interest in his theological opinions. Her criticisms on the faulty style in which the Sketches of her husband were prepared by Dr. West, and subsequently printed, indicate sterling sense and good taste. Some of her friends advised an abridgment of her husband's System of Divinity, for the second edition, in 1811. "But no," she writes; "an abridged work often loses its importance and sinks into oblivion. If the public will not be at the expense of printing it *as it is*, let them do without it till the millennium; then it will be read and published with avidity. If I could gain ever so much, (as things appear now,) I would not give my voice in favor of abridgment." She passed a widowhood of uncommon saintliness, feeling 'desolate, yet trusting in God, and continuing in supplications and prayers night and day.' She died in Taunton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1814, at the age of seventy-five years.* There is something pleasing in the theological style of her husband, when he speaks of himself as "peculiarly happy in finding such a wife," and adds: "I esteem it as one of the greatest favors of my life, to have such a companion in my advanced years, in whose prudence, good family economy, friendship, and benevolent care I can confide; and who is to me the first object among creatures, of the love of esteem, benevolence, complacency, and gratitude." †

While discussing the doctrine of Decrees, in his System of Theology, Dr. Hopkins has the following illustration: "My neighbor now comes into my study, and asks, whether a table he has made for me

* She now lies buried in Taunton, where, after all her solicitude about the style of her husband's Works, an *ungrammatical* inscription is yet suffered to deface her gravestone.—It had been her request to be buried at the side of her husband, at Newport, but the malignant nature of her disease forbade the removal of her remains

† Sketches, etc., pp. 83, 84.

can be introduced and have room here. I ask him what is the length and breadth of it. He answers, it is three yards square. I tell him, it can then be of no use to me, nor can it be introduced. He is confident [that] I am mistaken. And after some dispute, we at length conclude to take a common measure and apply it to the table, and to my door and study. Upon this the matter is soon decided, and it is found that the former agrees exactly with the latter; for his yardstick was found to be but twelve inches long." *

Our author was certainly right in querying about the admission of such a table into his study chamber; for that room, in which he wrote his System of Divinity and corresponded with an African poetess, and entertained Dr. Bellamy, and Dr. Channing, President Stiles and Newport Gardner, was only eleven feet eight inches long, nine feet seven inches wide, seven feet three inches high; and was entered by a door twenty-six inches in width; a room rather circumscribed for a man who weighed two hundred and twenty pounds. That he must have sat at a narrow table, is self-evident. We can almost see him leaning over his familiar desk, and listening to the roar of the ocean, and writing such words as these:

"The weak Christian, in the midst of strong temptations and potent enemies, constantly seeking and exerting all their power and cunning to devour and destroy him, is preserved and upheld, through a course of trial, by the mighty, omnipotent hand of the Redeemer; and the little spark of holiness implanted in the believer's heart is continued alive and burning, while there is so much, both within and without, tending to extinguish it; which is really more of a constant miracle and manifestation of the power of Christ than it would be to preserve a little spark of fire, for a course of years, in the midst of the sea, while the mighty waves are fiercely dashing against it and upon it, attempting to overwhelm and extinguish it." †

There was certainly a difference between Hopkins confined sixteen or eighteen hours a day within this limited enclosure, and Bishop Berkeley walking out from his Newport residence, with his writing utensils borne by a servant behind him, and at length sitting down on Paradise Rock, and there, "with that joyful instinct which a rural scene and fine weather inspire," composing his Minute Philosopher. Into his contracted study chamber Hopkins entered at four o'clock in the morning, ‡ and remained until his family were prepared for breakfast. When called, he descended a narrow and steep flight of stairs, and, having conducted the morning devotions, sat down at his frugal and generally silent repast of "a cup of coffee and a little Indian bread." Breakfast being over, he went out, if there were need, to make a parochial call, or to purchase some

* Hopkins's Works, new edition, vol. i. pp. 79, 80. † Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

‡ Dr. Channing says, in his letter of February 14, 1840, Dr. Hopkins's "study was visible from my father's house, and I recollect that, rising very early one winter morning, I saw the light of his candle streaming through the window. He took little exercise. His frame was very strong, or he must have sunk under his labors."

articles for his household. When he bought any thing, he paid for it on the spot. He asked no credit. It was "customary with him, when he had purchased a necessary article, as flour, or sugar, &c., to reserve, from the money he weekly received, the amount of the expenditure of that article, that when the whole of it was gone, he might have money on hand to pay for a new supply." *

Having performed these duties out of doors, he moved his giant frame slowly back to his narrow chamber, where he remained until the dinner hour. He then took a little meat, generally in silence, and climbed up again his precipitous stairway; and with the interruption of a brief interval for a cup of tea, he remained in his study until nine o'clock in the evening.† He then (often at least) put his light near his window, in order to apprise a neighboring household that he was going down to his family prayer, and thus to secure with that household a kind of praying concert. At ten o'clock he retired to bed. This was the even tenor of his way.‡

It is said, that in his small room he could not have had many

* Patten's Reminiscences, p. 140. The congregation of Dr. Hopkins took up a weekly contribution for him, and paid it to him on Monday morning. It amounted to about two hundred dollars per year. "One gentleman paid annually sixty dollars, and a lady furnished his family with a dinner several times in a week." One of his wealthiest parishioners put twelve and a half cents into the contribution bag every Sabbath. His pastor considered this worse than nothing. A reason why his people gave him no more than such a pittance was, their faith that he would be sustained without their aid, and that he would give away all that he could possibly do without. He had a farm at Great Barrington, the proceeds of which, however, he surrendered to his children. He had several wealthy friends who made him many presents; and some, who had only a clerical fortune, were affectionately desirous of ministering to his need. An association of ministers in Reading, Massachusetts, at one of their meetings, took up a contribution for him, after he had met a pecuniary loss. It was an unsolicited proof of their filial affection for the man. Mr. Hopkins did not justify his people in contributing so little for his maintenance. He deemed it better for them to give more. He said that even if he did not need their money, "he would take it and cast it into the sea," rather than not encourage among them a liberal spirit. "Occasionally," says Dr. Patten, (Reminiscences, p. 139,) "when there was a prospect of his wanting some necessary stores for the winter, especially fuel, he would make a statement in writing, and deliver it into the hand of some of the church, with a request that he would show it indiscriminately to the members of the society; but with a charge to say nothing by the way of soliciting a donation, but in silence to leave each one to act according to his own inclination. The ground of his request was never charity, in the common acceptation of the word, but assistance to their pastor, in fulfilling his duty to them and the Redeemer; and such applications, it is believed, were never unsuccessful."

† Several of his letters close abruptly with the words, — "The clock strikes nine, and I can only add that I am your affectionate and unworthy friend, S. H."

‡ There were, of course, occasional variations of his daily routine. On Saturday evening, after his fast, he drank a bowl of milk before going to rest, and on Sabbath noon he drank a bowl of chocolate. It was certainly safer to drink such liquids, at such times, than to employ the stimulants which his clerical brethren used; but the dull elocution of which his hearers complained, was not relieved, perhaps, by this soporific diet. — We sometimes catch a glimpse of him riding on horseback to the "Hartford election," and to the "Boston election," and calling on Mr. Sanford, Mr. Emmons, Mr. Spring, Dr. Hart and Dr. Strong. — During the protracted absence from Newport of his first wife, on account of her consumptive habits, he writes: "My little congregation are as friendly to me as ever, if not more so. They feel that I am not dependent on them, or that I am not obliged to stay here in order to get a living."

books. The great majority of the volumes which he read were borrowed from public libraries, or from ministerial friends.* It is ascertained, however, that in his library at Newport, were about fifty folios, about sixty quartos, a hundred octavos, and some duodecimos. They were books of sterling value. It was better to have this select library, and to read it much, than to have a more imposing array of volumes, and read them not at all.

Every fortnight the barber visited the old patriarch and shaved his head. Over his head the aged father wore a white linen cap, and, covering this, a higher cap of red velvet. A gown of blue worsted, lined with green, or of green plaid or baize, was his favorite *dishabille*, always worn by him in the study and sometimes out of doors.† Ordinarily, however, when he appeared in the street, he was clad in the straight-bodied coat so common among gentlemen of the old school; and his head was covered with a powdered wig and three-cornered hat. He wore the clerical neck-band when he preached. The first portrait of him was taken with his pulpit attire, and usually hung in the west parlor of the parsonage. An engraving of it was prefixed to one of Dr. Hopkins's volumes, during his life. The second portrait was taken at the expense of a few citizens of Hartford, when he was in his eightieth year, and presents him in his study dress. This last-named portrait was copied in the engraving prefixed to his Autobiography, and has been more accurately copied for the complete edition of his Works. While this interesting old portrait was in a public gallery at Hartford, it was examined by a gentleman, who disliked the subject of it so intensely, that he thrust his cane through the canvas, near the head of the figure, and made a rupture which yet remains. He gave as a reason for thus defacing the picture, that Dr. Hopkins believed in the damnation of infants. Some of Hopkins's clerical opponents have been equally injudicious in their assaults.

To his dying day, Hopkins retained his love of neatness and order. No member of his household was allowed to move a book or paper in his study. He had a place for every article of his clothing, and he must needs be sure that every thing was in its place. The same peculiarity belonged to West and Emmons, and was often sportively said to be one of the outward signs of a Hopkinsian.

To his dying day, also, Hopkins retained his love of study. Long after his first shock of paralysis, he was wont to climb up his narrow staircase to the favorite south-west corner of his parsonage, and

* The charge of owning few books, is often brought against the New England divines. It is not considered, that they had what amounts to a circulating library, among themselves, and that each read the volumes belonging to his brethren.

† "I can well recollect," says Dr. Channing, (Works, vol. iv. p. 318,) "the impression which he made on me, when a boy, as he rode on horseback in a plaid gown fastened by a girdle round his waist, and with a study cap on his head instead of his wig."

there lose himself in divine contemplations. "I recollect," says Dr. Channing, "that on visiting him one day when he was about eighty years of age, I found his eyes much inflamed by reading and writing. I took the liberty to recommend abstinence from these occupations. He replied, smilingly, with an amusing story, and then added, 'If my eyes won't study, no eyes for me.'" *

This remark is quoted by Channing as an instance of the facetiousness in which Hopkins occasionally indulged. It is said by some, that he had more pleasantry as well as more inquisitiveness, in his later than in his earlier years, and that his house became more and more attractive to his friends.

SECT. XLIX. SHOCK OF PARALYSIS; REFLECTIONS; SELF-EXAMINATION.

In his seventy-eighth year, having performed labor enough for breaking down a constitution of iron, this old divine was struck with a paralysis. Instead of describing his case pathologically, he turns the attention, at once, from the body to the soul.

"December 16, 1799. On the tenth of last January, I was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke, which affected my right side, and rendered my limbs of that side in a great measure useless, and much affected my speech; but was attended with little or no pain, and the exercise of my reason and mental faculties was not in the least affected. This appeared to threaten my speedy dissolution, in my view, and in the view of my friends, either by a greater and more deadly stroke, or some other way. To be sure, I seasonably considered it as a warning to be ready for death. I felt that God had laid his hand lightly upon me, and that the affliction was attended with much tender mercy; and [I] was resigned and thankful. For a short time, at first, my mind was dark, and I seemed to myself to be in a measure shut out from the sensible presence of God and the Saviour; but soon I was led to a view and sense of Jesus Christ, as exalted to the throne of the universe, having all power in heaven and earth, clothed with infinite power, wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, governing the world and ordering every event, the least and greatest, as it shall be most for his glory, and the greatest general good; having mercy on whom he will have mercy, and hardening whom he will; and showing mercy to every one to whom he can do it consistently with wisdom and goodness, — *i. e.*, consistently with the greatest display of his character and perfections, and the highest happiness of the creation; and that all this, and every thing, and event, and circumstance were determined and fixed from eternity, by eternal, unerring wisdom, righteousness, and goodness. In this view, the Saviour appeared infinitely great and important, and divinely worthy and amiable. I felt myself and all creatures and things to be in his hands, and was pleased and rejoiced in this, knowing that every thing was ordered and conducted in the wisest and best possible manner, so as to answer the best and most desirable ends; that the Saviour would injure none, fulfil all his promises to a tittle, and accomplish all his designs in the best time and the most desirable and perfect manner; so that all is well, in the best

* Works, vol. iv. pp. 348, 349. — It is probable that after his paralysis, the aged divine may not have risen so uniformly at four o'clock, as he had done. He was tenacious, however, of his old habits.

and most desirable situation that possibly can be. In a belief and sense of this, and more, which cannot be expressed, my soul was full of comfort and joy, saying, 'The Lord Jesus Christ reigns, let the earth rejoice. Our God is in the heavens. He hath done, doth, and will do whatsoever he pleaseth.'

"In these pleasing and comfortable views and exercises, I had no particular attention to, or thought of, myself, whether I were a Christian and should be saved or not. But my comfort and joy were derived from, or rather consisted in, a view and sense of the excellent, glorious character of Christ, in whose hands I and all things were, and who would order and dispose of things concerning me and all men and creatures, so as in the highest degree to promote his glory, or the glory of God, which is the same; and effect the greatest general good or happiness, or the wisest and best ends. In this view, my heart said, with strong emotions and the most pleasing sensations, 'Amen! Thy will be done!'—without knowing or considering what his will was concerning me. Had I reflected judiciously on my own exercises, I might have rationally judged them to be agreeable to the truth, and an evidence that I was a friend to Christ; but I did not so reflect as to make this conclusion. This view and sense of things still abides with me, but at different times in a higher and lower degree, but not so that I can infer from it, without hesitation, that I am a real Christian, and shall be saved. My views and exercises appear to me so much below the truth and so inconstant, that, sometimes, I doubt of their reality, or of their being real Christian exercises; and I have such a deceitful heart, that I fear delusion, though at times all doubts subside. My person and whole interest in time and to eternity is, compared with the grand whole,—the glory of God and the best interest of his kingdom,—so small and inconsiderable, that when I have the latter in a sensible view, the former sinks into a mere speck or nothing, and is almost wholly overlooked and forgotten, and the language of my heart is, 'Let God be glorified by all, and the best interest of his kingdom be secured and promoted, let what will become of me and my interest!' And while I see the former grand interest is secure, and will be in the best manner promoted, I am satisfied and rejoice. And this so engrosses my thoughts and reflections, that I do not attend to the interest of any individual person, my own or [that of] any one else, so as to excite any sensible joy or sorrow, hope or fear; the interest of such individual being overlooked as not worthy of any regard, in comparison with the grand interest of the whole;—this so impresses the mind and fills it, as to exclude the other.

"But as my mind cannot have a view of all objects with equal clearness and attention, at one and the same time, but different objects are more attended to, and make a greater impression at some times than at others, so when I attend more particularly to my own state and interest, I naturally reflect upon the views and affections and enjoyments I have experienced in attending to the person, character, and works of Christ, and the greatness, glory, and happiness of his kingdom; and the inference seems to be plain, that I am a friend to these objects; but I am not able always, if at any time, to see the truth of this consequence with clearness and certainty. When the clearness and sensibility of these views and exercises in a measure subside, and I attend more to my own character, and my depravity, stupidity, unbelief, and the evil and deceitfulness of my heart rise into view, I am disposed to call in question my own good estate, and to suspect that my exercises fall short of real Christianity; yet, maintaining a hope that this is not the case, which is sometimes weaker and sometimes stronger, and frequently for a short space rises so high as to exclude doubting; but even then, though this excites gratitude, it does not raise my comfort and joy to that degree, as does the direct view of the character of Christ and his kingdom above mentioned, without any particular attention to my own character and personal interest. When my doubts and fears prevail most, respecting my personal union to Christ, and I attend particularly to my personal concerns and interest, it appears, when considered by itself, to be beyond all conception, and infinitely great, which I feel to be

wholly in the hands of Christ, to be determined by him whether I shall be happy or miserable forever. And this is so far from being disagreeable to me, that I am highly pleased with it, and would not have it otherwise on any consideration whatever. I feel that I am in the best hands, and, in this respect, in the best situation that I possibly could be in. He certainly will not injure me in any respect, or in the least degree. He is infinitely wise, good, and merciful, and knows what is most for his own glory, and the highest good and happiness of his kingdom; and can and will certainly save me and every one else with whom I have any connection, if it may be consistent with his glory and the greatest happiness of his kingdom, or consistent with wisdom and goodness, which is the same; and I cannot so much as wish or have the least desire to be saved on any other supposition, — *i. e.*, if this be inconsistent with infinite wisdom and goodness, and contrary to the greatest good and glory of Christ and his kingdom; and [I] feel that it would be awful impiety and rebellion to ask for salvation on any other supposition.

"But when I reflect on the dreadfulness of being cast away forever by Christ, to suffer the just desert of my sins, feeling the strokes and tokens of his righteous anger and vengeance; and being given up to evil lusts, to join with the devil and exist eternally on his side, an enemy to Christ and his kingdom, my soul recoils, and feels this to be intolerable! Then I fly to Christ and his atonement, and cast myself down at his feet, to dispose of me as he pleases; yet hoping and crying for mercy, — O! be merciful to me, a sinner; — which is accompanied with a number of various exercises which cannot be easily described.

"And when I reflect on these exercises, they appear to me to be consistent with Christianity, and an evidence of real friendship to Christ; and I am sensible that if another person should relate to me such views and exercises as experienced by him, I should think them an evidence that he was a real Christian. Yet I often greatly doubt of my being a true Christian; especially when I have some more clear view and sense of my barren and sinful life, and attend particularly to that.

"These are some of my daily, various exercises, in all which I always maintain a hope that I am a Christian, which sometimes excludes all doubt; being constantly assured of the truth of the gospel, — that this is a revelation of the only true God, and of eternal life; and that the truths which I have preached as contained in the gospel, are indeed the truths of God, and sufficient to support and comfort a Christian in the near view of death and eternity, and under all the afflictions of this life. And I live in the constant assurance of the truth of the doctrine of the decrees of God, and of his universal and particular providence directing every event and every thing which comes to pass, and exercising absolute sovereignty in his dealing with men; without which I could have no support and comfort. And my chief comfort and joy does not consist in or arise from an assurance or hope that I shall be saved; but in a view and sense of the perfections and glory of Christ, his power, wisdom, and goodness, reigning and ordering all things for the glory of God and the greatest good of his kingdom. And this is accompanied with an experimental assurance, that the exercises of true religion are wholly disinterested and in direct opposition to all selfishness, — a doctrine which I have endeavored to maintain and inculcate for many years.

"When I was first taken with this disorder, and for most of the time since, I have had little or no sensible desire of recovering, and was not inclined so much as to ask for it; my mind rather reluctated at the thought of recovering so as to preach after the poor, dull way in which I had hitherto preached, and with as little success. But God has been pleased to recover me, so that I have been able to attend public worship and preach for several months past; and I do not feel that preaching hurts me, or aggravates my disorder, which encourages me to proceed, but with many and great discouragements from my own great deficiencies, and the want of a proper attention apparent in the congregation in general. But Christ will answer his own ends by me, and

continue me in the world, and take me out of it in the best time and manner, so as best to answer these ends; and in this I daily acquiesce and rejoice. Amen." *

On the tenth of January, 1800, this lowly disciple made the following record, first, of the signs that he *was* "a real Christian," and, secondly, of the indications that he was *not* "a real friend to Christ." The favorable signs are thus humbly and honestly given:

"1. I have been so far convinced of my sins and reproved for them, that I know that I am infinitely guilty, and deserve eternal destruction and misery; that God would be just, and I should have no reason to complain, if he should punish me forever, with aggravated torments. This conviction is abiding and increasing, while I heartily approve of the law of God which curses the transgressor, — as holy, just, and good. This conviction and sense of the evil of sin, and of my depravity and sinfulness, rises much higher sometimes than others; but I am never disposed to cast it off or doubt the truth of it, but it is fixed on my mind; and when I have the greatest sense of it, I know that I see but little of what it really is in the sight of God, — that the number of my sins and the magnitude and aggravations of each one are infinitely beyond my comprehension, and are known perfectly to God alone, — that I am wholly and beyond expression depraved and sinful, naturally, being infinitely far from any moral goodness to recommend me to the mercy and favor of God, — and that if my heart be changed so as to exercise holiness in any degree, yet this is so defective, and attended with so much moral defilement and sin, that all taken together it is worse than nothing, and affords matter of condemnation, and is infinitely far from deserving any good or favor. And if I were wholly recovered from my depravity, and were made perfectly holy, this would be so infinitely overbalanced by the guilt of my sins, that it could not be reckoned in my favor, so as to procure the pardon of my sins, or render me deserving of any good thing. I have a constant and growing conviction, that I am wholly dependent on the preventing, sovereign grace of God, for my recovery from this miserable, lost state of infinite guilt and total depravity, and for the least degree of sincerity and faith or conformity to the law of God; that I am wholly lost, and shall sink down to hell, an enemy to God and all good, and justly perish forever, unless Christ, by his sovereign goodness, clothed with omnipotence and infinite wisdom, shall recover and save me, while I shall not do any thing towards my salvation, or make the least exertion for it; but all that I will and do is contrary to it, unless and no farther than he shall work in me to will and to do, of his sovereign good pleasure, what he requires as necessary to my salvation. Thus I feel myself to be an infinitely guilty, odious creature, utterly undone in myself, and have not a word to say, and have not a thought in my favor; my mouth is stopped in this respect, and I am guilty before God, and accept the punishment of my iniquity.

"If this, which I have imperfectly described, implies the essentials of real repentance, in which I humble myself in the sight of the Lord, with a broken and contrite heart, then I have a new heart and am interested in the divine promises. But if not, — then I have never yet understood the true meaning of these words of Scripture, and my eyes are yet blinded with regard to my own character!

"2. I think I do most heartily approve of, and acquiesce in, the person and character of Christ, and am pleased with the way of salvation of sinners by him. All his directions, exhortations, commands, doctrines which he taught, all that he said, did, and suffered, and all his revealed purposes and designs appear wise, good, and excellent, and carry clear marks and abundant evidence of divinity in them. Hence

* Sketches, etc., pp. 105–113.

"3. I do, I think, place all my hope in him, and desire not to be found and accepted in any righteousness of my own, were this possible; but to be pardoned and justified by the merit and righteousness of Christ. I am sensibly and greatly pleased with being wholly dependent on him for righteousness, sanctification, and complete redemption. If there were any other possible way of salvation, which I know there is not, I would reject it, not desiring to be saved in any way but that which is revealed in the gospel.

"4. I think I desire and seek the glory of God and the greatest good and happiness of the universe, as my highest and ultimate end; and in this view am pleased with and rejoice in the character and designs of God and Christ, who is doing every thing for this end, and will accomplish it in the most perfect manner, and in the highest possible degree. And on this account I am highly pleased with Christ and the gospel, as by the redemption of man by Christ, God is glorified in an eminent degree, and the greatest happiness of creatures promoted and effected. And for this reason I acquiesce in it, that all of the human race should not be saved, but a part of them perish forever in their sins, as divine revelation has declared; because I know this is necessary for the glory of God, and the greatest good of his eternal kingdom, and not one will be lost forever, who could be saved consistently with this; and therefore all will be saved who can be saved consistently with infinite wisdom and goodness. Therefore, —

"5. I am most satisfied and pleased, when I have the most clear and feeling sense of my being in the hands of Christ, in the most perfect and absolute sense and degree, and wholly at his disposal in time and to eternity; knowing that he will do with and by me what is most for his glory and the good of his kingdom; and that he will save me, if he can do it consistently with this; and this is all that I can desire. Therefore I am well pleased with being in his hands and wholly at his disposal, let him do what he will with me, and cannot conceive of a better and more desirable situation: yea, I know there cannot be a better.

"When I reflect on the feelings and exercises expressed in the last two particulars, they seem to me to be the expression of true disinterested benevolence, or that *love* by which we are formed after the likeness of God, and he dwelleth in us, and we in him. The reason of my doubting of this, especially at times, has been in some measure suggested before, and will be more fully expressed in the sequel.

"6. I think I do hunger and thirst after righteousness. My longing to be perfectly holy is, sometimes, very sensible and strong, exceeding all desires of earthly things that I have, or of which I am capable. I have often felt willing and a desire to die immediately, if this might bring me to perfect holiness, to a complete conformity to Christ.

"7. I feel my heart strongly united to those whom I consider to be real friends to Christ, in benevolent and complacential love; especially those with whom I am more particularly and intimately acquainted. I have a quite different feeling toward them from that which I have toward others, and have a peculiar delight in their company and conversation.

"8. My preaching and conversation has been generally acceptable and pleasing to those whom I have esteemed the most judicious and best Christians, so far as I have been able to learn. I have not only preached the doctrines which I verily believed to be true, but heartily approved of them, and have delivered those truths of the word of God respecting practical and experimental religion, which were the dictates of my heart, and often, if not commonly, suggested by my own feelings and exercises; and have not endeavored to appear better or in a more agreeable light, than was agreeable to the truth, though I am sensible that my Christian friends have in many instances and respects, thought too highly of me, which has been matter of shame and humiliation to me; yet their love and esteem, I have been ready to consider as an evidence in my favor, though of little weight considered by itself, as we know not each other's hearts, and are liable to be greatly deceived in

others. I therefore mention this as coinciding with, and in some measure strengthening the evidences which have been mentioned. This is, at least, an evidence that what appears in my preaching, conversation, and external conduct, which, so far as I know, is in general agreeable to my heart, (at least I do not on design attempt to play the hypocrite,) is to judicious Christians, who are most acquainted with me, an evidence that I am a real Christian."

How beautiful is the honesty of this aged scholar! How uncommon is the lowliness with which he proceeds to write dark things against himself!

"I proceed to mention some things which appear to me, at times at least, reason of fear that I never have known what it is to be a real Christian, and are at times, if not generally, the cause of many doubts.

"1. My stupidity and hardness of heart with respect to things divine and invisible, or the truths exhibited in the gospel. At times, and I believe I may say generally, I have very little or no sense of these things, and they make very little impression on my heart, if any; and I often feel as if they had no existence, while in my reason and judgment I have no doubt of their truth and reality. And when I have some sense of the truth, reality, and excellence of them, and even when I have the greatest sense and the most affecting view and impression of them on my heart, and I am most strongly and deeply affected with them, I am sensible that the view and sense I have is very imperfect and unspeakably short of the truth, and of what I ought to have, and even the greatest impression, and highest affection that I at any time experience, commonly soon abate and subside, and I am left as stupid and senseless as ever; and what I thought I had experienced seems like a dream, and as if it was not a reality. This stupidity and senselessness is commonly most sensible and burdensome in my public performances of prayer and preaching; and even when I have freedom of speech and a flow of words, and my Christian friends have thought I was greatly assisted, I have been conscious of my great and shameful stupidity, and want of a proper sense of the things of which I have been speaking. This, which is more or less sensibly felt, is my constant attendant, and the grief and burden of my heart, and matter of my constant confessions and prayer to God for deliverance from it; being always sensibly convinced that no external light and advantages, or any means used, will in the least remove this stupidity and hardness of heart; but that the Spirit of God alone can remove it, and give me that spiritual sensibility and feeling of heart which I seem most earnestly to desire. I consider this stupidity, blindness, and insensibility of heart to divine things, to be altogether and infinitely criminal; as it must be owing to the moral corruption and depravity of my heart, or rather consist wholly in depravity and wickedness of heart, being hardened, contracted, and bound up in selfishness and pride, and all the evil propensities which are implied in these. This is *unbelief of heart*, which is consistent with a conviction of the reason and judgment, of the truths contained in the gospel; for no degree of such conviction will in the least remove this blindness, hardness, and *unbelief* of heart, which I am considering. But blindness and unbelief of heart have a strong tendency to prevent or remove a conviction of the judgment and conscience of the truth and reality of invisible things, and to promote speculative unbelief of them; and are the real and only ground of all deism and atheism, and all speculative infidelity. This gives Satan great advantage to blind the minds of them who believe not, and lead them captives to infidelity, which he improves to the utmost of his power.

"I do not sensibly perceive the real ground and reason of this darkness and stupidity of my mind with respect to invisible things, but am most sensible of the fact, while the cause of this lamentable fact is out of sight, and is rather the object of reason and speculation. This blindness and stupidity of heart

are so sensible an opear so great to me, especially at times, that I much doubt whether it b onsistent with the true knowledge of God, or my having any real Christian light and discerning, which Christ calls 'the light of life,' which he gives to all his true followers. Yet I know that when I hear professing Christians complain of their stupidity and blindness, &c., I do not consider this as an evidence that they are not Christians, but rather in their favor, as a sign that they have a sensibility and discerning respecting their own hearts, which is peculiar to Christians. But it is not easy for me to apply this to myself, and draw such a consequence in my own favor. I am apt to consider my blindness and stupidity not to be like that of others, but greater and peculiar to myself.

"2. My life and conversation, all taken together, both external and internal, appear very much against me, and so destitute of any good fruit, and so full of deformity and sin both of omission and commission, that I know not how to reconcile it with the life of a Christian, especially at some times, when I have a view of it as a most deformed and odious life, considering the many and peculiar advantages and opportunities I have had, and my great obligations to live a holy life, wholly devoted to Christ; all which I have abused in a greater or less degree continually. Though I dare not say I have not been, and am not in any degree sincere in my regard to Christ and the truths of the gospel, and have a hope that I have had and now have some sincerity, yet I cannot look back upon a *well-spent life*, for it appears unspeakably far from such an one. I have often said, 'I will be wise,' but it has been far from me. I cannot view myself as a *good and faithful* servant of Jesus Christ, but much to the contrary; and, therefore, cannot realize it, or even conceive how he can view and call me such an one, as he represents that he will do all who shall be owned by him at the last day. This is often cause of great doubts and fears that I am not a real servant of Jesus Christ. I know he will own and accept of the least thing done for him from a true regard to him, but I feel that I have nothing that I have done to plead in my favor.

"3. It has been matter of doubt and discouragement to me, that I have little or no success by my preaching, in being made the instrument of awakening and converting sinners. But very few instances of this have come to my knowledge, and these not very remarkable and clear. I came upon the stage and began to preach, when there was a great and general revival of religion in New England; many were awakened, and thought to be converted, and many ministers were successful in this, and had great revivals in their congregations; but no such thing has appeared under my preaching, though some individuals have sometimes appeared to be in some degree awakened. I should expect that a good minister of Christ would be succeeded in this respect — especially when others round about him were successful more than I have appeared to be. This has led me to fear, especially at times, that there is some essential defect in me, and that I had not the true spirit of Christ, and his real presence and approbation. I do not think I have reason to conclude that my ministrations in preaching, writing, and conversation have been altogether useless and unprofitable. They have been acceptable to many, if not to all, who have appeared to be Christians, especially to the most attentive, engaged, and judicious; and many have thought themselves greatly instructed, strengthened, and comforted by them; and my usefulness, if there has been any, has not consisted in being the mean of convincing and converting sinners, but chiefly in ministering to the saints, and building them up in faith and holiness; and I believe my publications have been the means of spreading light with respect to some important doctrines of Christianity. This I consider as matter of thankfulness; but it does not wholly remove my gloom and doubts, which arise from the inefficacy of my preaching with respect to sinners; and when I attend to the great and shameful defects and poorness of my preaching, and the little sense I have of what I do say, &c., together with want of success, I don't wonder my

preaching is without effect, and my doubts of my having any true grace are increased." *

Sect. L. PREACHING AFTER HIS PARALYSIS.

"I speak with difficulty," writes the faithful paralytic, October 4, 1799, "yet so that my congregation can understand me. I have preached all day on the Sabbath for some time, and [I] do not find that it hurts me. But I am hastening to the grave, and do not find that I am doing any *great* good, if any." Doubtless his friends could easily understand his discourses. But a gentleman now living, who occasionally attended service at Dr. Hopkins's meeting-house, writes: "I can truly say, that I never heard him preach; his voice was so tremulous, broken, inarticulate, that I never heard him, [even when I saw him preaching.]" The venerable paralytic lived only a few rods from his church edifice, and yet was often obliged to ride thither in a chaise; but he persevered in preaching till the age of eighty-two. It was dangerous for him to ascend the pulpit stairs, or even to go up the broad aisle, without help; therefore his old friend and sexton, Newport Gardner,† often walked close behind him, to catch him if he fell, and to stay up his trembling frame, if he seemed to falter in his movements;—still he persevered in preaching. There are persons living who recollect, or at least have the impression, that Newport Gardner sometimes helped him rise in the pulpit to read the hymn, or offer prayer, and afterward aided him in resuming his seat;—still he preached. One would think that his constant theme should have been, "the perseverance of the saints."

Sect. LI. PERSEVERANCE IN HIS OLD FRIENDSHIPS, ESPECIALLY TO THE EDWARDS FAMILY.

One of the most interesting traits in the character of Hopkins was, his continued faithfulness to the friends of his youth. He has been thought to be one of those men who, in the words of Milton, have "such a scholastical bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, [and] cracked their voices forever with metaphysical gargarisms." But more than once in his letters, at the age of eighty-two, he apologizes for his earnest expressions of friendship, with such clauses as, "You will perhaps think by what I have written, that I am not a little enthusiastic in my old age." The following honest-hearted words to Rev. Jonathan Judd, of Southampton,‡ breathe the forgiving spirit of the man who had suffered so much for his faith:

* Sketches, etc., pp. 114-121.

† See section xxxvii. of this Memoir.

‡ See p. 34 of this Memoir.

"Newport, November 5, 1798. Dear Sir: It is near thirty years since I have had any thing direct from you, and I do not remember that I have written you since, which I am *now* disposed to consider as my fault. The import of your line to me then was, that you considered me as a great and wicked heretic, highly deserving rebuke.* I believe I have published nothing since, that would lead you to have a better opinion of me, had you read my writings, which to me is improbable.

"However, considering our consanguinity,† that we originated in the same town, were classmates at college, and the intimacy which took place between us when we were young and entering on the stage of life, there is, perhaps, no reason for our living strangers to each other. I therefore now sit down to write you by post, as I know of no other way of conveyance, presuming you are yet in this world, though I have heard nothing of you for a considerable time.

"You are about a year older or younger than I am, I think, but I do not remember which. I was seventy-seven years old on the seventeenth day of last September. But very few of our contemporaries are now living, and we shall soon be called off the stage of life. I think I have heard of the death of the wife of your youth; and that you have since married another wife, but who, or from whence, or whether she be yet alive, I know not. You have children, I conclude, some or all of them grown up and settled in the world; but how many you have had, whether they be all alive, and what proportion of males and females, I have not been informed." —

Hopkins next gives an unvarnished account of his own family, and adds:

"My church and congregation were large and flourished, before the war with Britain, but in that war were greatly diminished and impoverished; from which state they have not risen. However, I have my daily food, and live comfortably and in peace, having neither poverty nor riches, as a temptation to lead me astray." —

"I enjoy a comfortable measure of health, through the distinguishing mercy of God, and have fewer complaints than men of my years commonly have; — am able to attend the public services of the Sabbath constantly, and we have a weekly conference at my house every Thursday evening. But religion is very low with us, and in these parts." —

The writer then enumerates his various publications, and adds:

"We are going into a world of light, where it will be known what truth and what errors we have imbibed and contended for in this dark world; and then all matters will be set right; to which I feel no reluctance, hoping I sincerely love the truth, and that I am building on the sure foundation laid in Zion, whatever hay and stubble may be found with me. And as to others, who are the professed friends of Christ, I desire not to judge any of them before the time.

"If this should find you alive and in health, and you should find it in your heart to write me by the same conveyance in which this goes, you would much oblige your kinsman and old friend, S. Hopkins.

"Reverend Jonathan Judd.

"P. S. Mrs. Hopkins wishes you to think of her as your respectful friend." ‡

* Mr. Judd was strongly opposed to some of the opinions of Dr. Hopkins.

† The mother of Dr. Hopkins was a sister of Mr. Judd's father.

‡ See the whole of this letter in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. v. pp. 43–45.

The faithfulness of Dr. Hopkins to his old friends, is most conspicuous in his life-long devotedness to the family of President Edwards. When the President and his consort were removed by death, Hopkins wrote:

"Mrs. Sarah Edwards, the amiable consort of President Edwards, did not long survive him. In September, she set out in good health on a journey to Philadelphia, to take care of her two orphan grandchildren, which were now in that city, and had been since the death of Mrs. Burr. As they had no relations in those parts, Mrs. Edwards proposed to take them into her own family. She arrived there by the way of Princeton, September 21, in good health, having had a comfortable journey. But in a few days she was suddenly seized with a violent dysentery, which put an end to her life on the fifth day, October 2, 1758, in the forty-ninth year of her age. She said not much in her sickness, being exercised most of the time with violent pain. On the morning of the day she died, she apprehended her death was near, when she expressed her entire resignation to God, and desire that God might be glorified in all things; and that she might be enabled to glorify him to the last; and continued in such a temper, calm and resigned, till she died.

"Her remains were carried to Princeton, which is about forty miles from Philadelphia, and deposited with Mr. Edwards's. Thus they who were in their lives remarkably lovely and pleasant, in their death were not much divided. Here lie the father and mother, the son and daughter, who were laid together in the grave within the space of a little more than a year; though, a few months before, their dwelling was more than one hundred and fifty miles apart. Two presidents of the same college and their consorts, than whom it will doubtless be hard to find four persons more valuable and useful, in a few months are cut off from the earth forever; and by a remarkable providence are put, as it were, into one grave! And we, the survivors, are left under the gloomy apprehension that these righteous are taken away from the evil to come.

"Surely, America is greatly emptied by these deaths! How much knowledge, wisdom, and holiness is gone from the earth forever! And where are they who shall make good their ground!*

Hopkins describes Mrs. Edwards as uncommonly beautiful in her person, courteous and engaging in her manners, and gives the following simple-hearted account of her domestic life:

"She paid proper deference to Mr. Edwards, and treated him with decency and respect at all times. As he was of a weakly, infirm constitution, and was peculiar and exact in his diet, she was a tender nurse to him; cheerfully attending upon him at all times, and ministering to his comfort; and spared no pains to conform to his inclinations, and make things agreeable and comfortable to him.

"She accounted it her greatest glory, and that wherein she could best serve God and her generation, in being a means of promoting Mr. Edwards's comfort and usefulness in this way. And no person of discerning could be conversant in the family, without observing and admiring the great harmony and mutual love and esteem that subsisted between them.

"When she herself labored under bodily disorders and pains, which was often the case, she was not wont to be full of her complaints, and put on a dejected or sour countenance, being out of humor with every body and every thing, as if she was disregarded and neglected, but she would bear up under them with patience, and a kind of cheerfulness and good humor.

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, pp. 109, 110, Edinburgh edition.

"She was a good economist, managing her household affairs with discretion; in which she was laborious and diligent. She was very careful that nothing should be wasted and lost; and often, when she did any thing to save a small matter, or directed her children to do it in any instance, or saw them waste any thing, she would mention the words of our Saviour, which, she said, she often thought of, as containing a maxim worth remembering; when, as the reason why his disciples should gather up the fragments, he says, '*that nothing be lost.*' She took almost the whole care of the temporal affairs of the family, without doors and within; and in this she was peculiarly suited to Mr. Edwards's disposition, who chose to have no care of any worldly business.

"She had an excellent way of governing her children. She knew how to make them regard and obey her cheerfully, without loud, angry words, or heavy blows. She seldom struck her children a blow; and, in speaking to them, used mild, gentle, and pleasant words. If any correction was needful, it was not her manner to give it in a passion. And when she had occasion to reprove and rebuke, she would do it in few words, without heat and noise, with all calmness and gentleness of mind. And in her directions or reproofs, in any matters of importance, she would address herself to the reason of her children, that they might not only know her inclination and will, but at the same time be convinced of the reasonableness of it. She need speak but once; she was cheerfully obeyed; murmuring and answering again were not known among them; and the kind and gentle treatment they had from their mother, while she strictly and punctually maintained her parental authority, seemed naturally to beget and promote a filial regard and respect, and lead them to a mild, tender treatment of each other; for quarrelling and contention, as it frequently takes place among children, was not known among them. She carefully observed the first appearances of resentment and ill will towards any, in her young children, and did not connive at it and promote it, as many who have the care of children do, but was careful to show her displeasure at it, and suppress it to her utmost; not by angry, wrathful words and blows, which often provoke children to wrath, and stir up and confirm their irascible passions, rather than abate and suppress them.

"As she was sensible that, in many respects, the chief care of forming children by government and instruction naturally lies on mothers, as they are most with their children in their most pliable age, when they commonly receive impressions by which they are very much formed for life, so she was very careful to do her part in this important business. And when she met with any special difficulty in this matter, or foresaw any, she was wont to apply to Mr. Edwards for advice and assistance; and on such occasions they would both attend to it as a matter of great importance.

"But this was not all in which she expressed her care for her children. She thought that parents had great and important duty to do towards their children, before they were capable of government and instruction. For them she constantly and earnestly prayed, and bore them on her heart before God, in all her secret and most solemn addresses to him; and that even before they were born. . . . . .

"She was remarkable for her kindness to her friends and visitants, who resorted to Mr. Edwards. She would spare no pains to make them welcome, and provide for their convenience and comfort; and she was peculiarly kind to strangers who came to her house. She would take such kind and special notice of such, and so soon get acquainted with them, as it were, and show such regard and concern for their comfort, and so kindly offer what she thought they needed, as to discover she knew the heart of a stranger, and well understood how to do it good, and so as to oblige them to feel, in some measure, as if they were at home.

"She made it her rule to speak well of all, so far as she could with truth and justice to herself and others. She was not wont to dwell with delight on the imperfections and failings of any; and when she heard persons speaking

ill of others, she would say what she thought she could, with truth and justice, in their excuse, or divert the obloquy by mentioning those things that were commendable in them. Thus she was tender of every one's character, even of theirs who injured and spoke evil of her; and carefully guarded against the too common vice of evil speaking and backbiting. She could bear injuries and reproach with great calmness and patience, without any disposition to render evil for evil; but, on the contrary, was ready to pity and forgive those who appeared to be her enemies.

"She had long told her intimate friends, that she had, after long struggles and exercises, obtained, by God's grace, an habitual willingness to die herself, or part with any of her most near relatives, — that she was willing to bring forth children for death, and resign up him whom she esteemed so great a blessing to her and her family — her nearest partner — to the stroke of death, whenever God should see fit to take him. And when she had the greatest trial, in the death of Mr. Edwards, she found the help and comfort of such a disposition. Her conversation and conduct on this occasion was even to the admiration of her friends. It was such as discovered that she was sensible of the great loss she and her children had sustained in his death; and at the same time showed that she was quiet and resigned, and had those invisible supports and comforts by which she could trust in God with quietness, hope, and humble joy." *

In the same volume which contains the "Short Sketch of Mrs. Edwards's Life and Character," is also a "Brief Account of Mrs. Esther Burr, and some Extracts of Letters wrote by her." Mrs. Burr was the third daughter of President Edwards. Her biographer says of her:

She "exceeded most of her sex in the beauty of her person, and in a decent and easy gesture, behavior, and conversation, (not stiff and starch on the one hand, nor mean and indecent on the other;) in her unaffected, natural freedom with persons of all ranks with whom she conversed. Her genius was much more than common. She had a lively, sprightly imagination, a quick and penetrating thought, and a good judgment. She had a peculiar smartness in her make and temper, which yet was consistent with pleasantness and good nature; and she knew how to be pleasant and facetious without trespassing on the bounds of gravity, or strict and serious religion. In short, she seemed to be formed to please, and especially to please one of Mr. Burr's taste and talents, in whom he was exceeding happy. But what crowned all her excellences, and was her chief glory, was her religion. She was hopefully converted when she was seven or eight years old; and she made a public profession of religion when she was about fifteen years of age; and her conversation and conduct, to her death, were exemplary, and as becometh godliness." †

Our author thus describes her death:

"Mrs. Burr and her children were inoculated at the same time her father was, and were recovered when he died. But after she was perfectly recovered to all appearance, she was suddenly seized with a violent disorder, which carried her out of the world in a few days; and which the physician said he could call by no name, but that of *a messenger sent suddenly to call her out of the world.* She died April 7, 1758, sixteen days after her father, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She was married to Mr. Burr June 29, 1752. By him she had two children, a son and a daughter." ‡

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, pp. 112–116, Edinburgh edition.
† Ibid. pp. 104, 105.
‡ Ibid. p. 104.

In one of her letters to her father, after the death of President Burr, the bereaved widow thus expresses herself:

"Since I wrote my mother's letter, God has carried me through new trials, and given me new supports. My little son has been sick with a slow fever, ever since my brother left us, and has been brought to the brink of the grave, but I hope in mercy God is bringing him up again. I was enabled to resign the child, (after a severe struggle with nature,) with the greatest freedom. God showed me that the child was not my own, but his; and that he had a right to recall what he had lent, whenever he thought fit; and I had no reason to complain, or say, God was hard with me. This silenced me.

"But O, how good is God! He not only kept me from complaining, but comforted me by enabling me to offer up the child by faith, I think, if ever I acted faith. I saw the fulness there was in Christ for little infants, and his willingness to accept of such as were offered to him. '*Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,*' were comforting words." *

This "little son" became, in the lapse of time, Vice President of the United States. Knowing him to be then surrounded with a brilliant circle of admirers, and to be flattered with a hope of new promotion, Hopkins sits down in the narrow study, and writes to him the following epistle. It is one of the last letters which he ever wrote. He seems to have felt that he could not go to rejoin the family of President Edwards, until he had performed a sad duty to one of that good man's erring descendants:

"Newport, ——, 1802. Honored Sir: You will probably be surprised, (though it is hoped not offended,) by being addressed by a person above four-score years old, who has no personal acquaintance with you, and whom you never saw and perhaps never heard of. The only apology I have to make for this, is the intimate acquaintance and friendship which subsisted between me and your grandfather and grandmother Edwards, and their daughter, your mother, and President Burr, your father; and my consequent benevolent, respectful regard for you.

"After the death of President Burr, President Edwards, and your mother, Mrs. Edwards was informed that you and your sister were taken to Philadelphia, by a friend of your deceased parents. She thought it her duty to make a journey to Philadelphia, and take the best care she could of her two little orphan grandchildren. The day she set out on her journey, she called at my house, as I then lived at Great Barrington, and proposed to me to write the life of the late President Edwards; to which I objected my being very unequal to such a work. But being urged by her solicitations, I consented to attempt it. Accordingly it was written, and by the approbation of his surviving friends it was published; to which was added a Sketch of the Character of Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Burr. This has been reprinted in London, which you have doubtless seen, and read the account your mother has given of her pious exercises respecting you, when you was a fatherless infant, and sick unto death, as was feared, but mercifully recovered in answer to fervent prayer. But to return from this perhaps needless digression.

"Mrs. Edwards arrived at Philadelphia in apparent good health, but was soon seized with sickness, which put an end to her life in a few days, which was, in a sense and degree, sacrificed in behalf of her two orphan grandchildren.

"In whose hands you was left after this, and who had the care of your

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, p. 108, Edinburgh edition.

education in your childhood and early youth; I do not recollect that I was ever informed. But that you have had a liberal education, and when you entered on the stage of life you studied and practised the law with success and reputation, and that in our late revolutionary war with Britain you were an active and useful officer under Washington, is sufficiently ascertained; and you are now raised to the dignity of Vice President of the United States, and consequently are a candidate for the highest office which the people of these States can confer.

"It is reported, and it is believed by a number, that you do not believe in divine revelation, and discard Christianity as not worthy of credit. I know this is an age of infidelity, but I do not think I have such evidence of the truth of this report, as to exclude all hope that it is not true. It would be very grievous to me, and I know it would be inexpressibly so to your pious and worthy ancestors, were they now in this world, to know that one of their posterity, for whom they had made so many prayers, who was educated in a Christian land, and is possessed of such great and distinguished natural powers of mind, was an infidel; especially as it is certain that such a character cannot be so useful as mischievous, nor can he be happy, but miserable, in this life; and, dying so, will be inconceivably miserable forever.

"I am as certain that the God revealed in the Bible is the only true God, and that Christianity is from heaven, and the only way to true happiness, as I am that there is a God, or that there is any existence, either visible or invisible; therefore that all infidelity, whether it be called deism, atheism, or scepticism, renounces the true God, has its foundation in a very depraved and corrupt heart, and will land in endless misery. There is the most certain and clear evidence, which cannot but be seen by every discerning, attentive mind, both from reason, experience, and divine revelation, that all the worldly riches, honors, and enjoyments, that any man can possess, cannot make him happy, but is attended with more pain than pleasure; and commonly, if not always, with peculiar trouble and vexation, if he seek happiness in this life only; and the best that he can hope for is the awfully dark and precarious cessation of existence, when he shall leave this world. But if this forlorn hope fail, as it certainly will, nothing remains but certain, inconceivable, endless misery.

"And there is equal evidence, and certainty from the above-mentioned sources, that the true Christian, whether rich or poor, in a high or low station, honored and applauded, or neglected and despised by men, is in the possession of a high, solid, and refined enjoyment, which the men of the world know not, and which the world cannot give or take away; consisting in the knowledge, belief, and love of the truths and realities contained in the gospel, and the exercises of heart and practice conformable thereto, and the hope of future happiness and glory with which Christianity inspires when cordially embraced; to which he will soon be brought, under the care of an infinitely powerful, wise, and benevolent Saviour, where he will enjoy complete and growing felicity, without any end.

"Sir, however needless, futile, or assuming, this address may appear, I hope it will be received without offence, from one who, with his best wishes for your prosperity in all things, is your sincere friend and ready servant, in all your lawful desires and commands. SAMUEL HOPKINS,

Pastor of the First Church in Newport, R. I.

"Hon. Aaron Burr,
Vice President of the United States of America."

Honest old man! Having loved the friends of his youth, he loves them even to the last, and longs to repay their kindness to him by laboring for their children and their children's children. His right arm had been palsied three years before he wrote this epistle; but he obviously took great pains in fashioning its letters, and it is

penned with a much firmer hand than he exhibited in any of his theological communications written at this date. All his attachments were constant.

Sect. LII. REVIVAL OF RELIGION.

It seemed good to the Rewarder of those who call upon him, now to take home this laborious but often discouraged pastor, without first gladdening his heart by a religious interest among his people. The friend of Edwards, Buell, and Brainerd, he had preached his first sermon in a revival of religion: it was meet that he should preach his last in a like scene. The sun which rose brightly in the morning, and had long been hidden behind the clouds, shone out again at its setting, and smiled upon the patient man who had waited so long for its beams.

In his extreme old age, this faithful minister wrote down the name of every member of his congregation, and offered day by day, in that little study chamber, a separate prayer for one after another of his beloved hearers. He had just completed this series of special supplications, when Mr., afterwards Dr. Caleb J. Tenney, came to aid him in his labors. A religious interest began at once. Strong men were bowed down. The men who had become "mighty in the Scriptures" under his tuition, began to love the truths which they had learned. He had been particularly earnest in his prayers for the choir, and nearly every one of his singers became joyful in the Christian hope. In about a year from that time, thirty-one of his hearers had enrolled their names among the disciples of Christ, and his church now contained about a hundred members.* His last sermon was preached during the progress of this revival. He had been afflicted with a severe fever in the middle of May, so that he was unable to speak in public until the middle of July. He then resumed his work. On the sixteenth of October, he preached from 1 Peter v. 8. "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Several who heard the sermon represent it as solemn and subduing. He rode home, and as he was helped out of his carriage, he said, with a wearied look, to his granddaughter: "Now I have done: I can preach no more." *He gave up.* He toiled as long as he could. Let us follow him to his rest.

* A larger number than at his installation; (see p. 85, above.) It is to be remembered, that the revolutionary war reduced his society to sixty or seventy families, from a hundred and thirty-five. His church was afterward reduced yet more, and at one time it contained only three male members. The Second Congregational Church was also diminished, and at one time depended upon Dr. Hopkins's church for a deacon, to distribute the communion emblems.

Sect. LIII. DEATH.

On Monday morning, October seventh, he remained in his exhausted state, and during the forenoon was seized with a severe fit of apoplexy, "which gave him all the appearance of a corpse. Recovering his reason before night, he would sometimes whisper as loud as he was able, 'O! the glory, the glory that shall follow.' And when reduced to his lowest state, and suffering the acutest of pain, his soul seemed to be refreshed by this his favorite exclamation, '*O! the glory that shall follow.*'" *

Soon afterward he was attacked with a disorder of the intestines, which greatly reduced him. He lost all appetite for food, and for nine weeks took scarcely an ounce of solid nutriment. He sat up in his easy chair two or three hours in the day. "I was with him," says Dr. Channing, "the day after he was seized with his last sickness. A minister present prayed with him, and for the continuance of his life. When the prayer was finished, Dr. Hopkins said something to this effect: 'You should not have asked for my life. I can do nothing more. It is time for me to go.' He could not at that moment have been distressed by doubts. Perhaps these were the last words I heard from him." †

Says one who attended him through his last sickness: "He possessed an uninterrupted peace; and though he could say but little, through his great inward weakness, yet he seemed to dwell in the clearest views of divine truth. The glory which would arise to God, in the salvation of sinners, filled his soul with ineffable joy. He had not one anxious thought about death, — rejoiced that he was in the hand of Christ, and wholly at his disposal." ‡

Another says, that often in his sickness he repeated the Psalm: "I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer; my God, my strength, in whom I will trust; my buckler, and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower," etc., etc.

A clergyman bending over him uttered the words, "Most gone." "Yes," he replied, "most gone." "And how do you feel, brother Hopkins?" "My anchor is well cast, and my ship, though weather-beaten, will outride the storm." §

He was particularly interested in the members of his own parish, who made him their farewell visits; and although he could not say much to the young converts, he gave them "his approbation and his blessing."

Three days before his death, he received a visit from a youth over whom he had watched with earnest but seemingly useless care.

* Ferguson's Memoir, p. 125.
† Letter of February 14, 1840.
‡ Sketches, Introduction, p. xx.
§ Ferguson's Memoir, p. 126.

Taking the young man by the hand, he remarked: "I am feeble, and cannot say much. I *have* said all that I *can* say. With my last words I tell you, '*Religion is the one thing needful.*'" He pressed the hand of his visitor still more closely, while he added: "And now I am going to die, and I am glad of it."

During the eighteenth and nineteenth of December, writes one who was familiar with his last scenes, "his bodily distress was beyond description." His reason was perfect to the last, and his patience in his agonies, astonishing. After a very distressing turn, we laid him down in his bed. He seemed easier; and while a number of us were sitting round him, he breathed his last, without a sigh or a groan; nor could we tell the moment in which he went!"*

So died this calm man, on the twentieth of December, 1803, in the sixty-third year of his Christian profession, in the sixty-second year of his ministry, in the eighty-third year of his age; an old disciple.

Sect. LIV. FUNERAL; GRAVE.

There had been, as we have already seen, an intimate friendship of more than forty years, between this deceased father and Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut. These two divines had made an agreement, that when either of them died his funeral sermon should, if possible, be preached by the survivor. In conformity with this plan, Dr. Hart pronounced the discourse, before a large auditory,† at the funeral of his venerated friend. The sermon was published soon afterward.‡ The Newport Mercury of December 24, 1803, contains the following notice of the funeral scene:

* Sketches, Introduction, pp. xx. xxi.

† It was affecting to see the number of the colored population, who testified their gratitude to the deceased by attending his funeral.

‡ See West's Sketches, pp. 217–240. After a brief notice of the principal events in Dr. Hopkins's life, Dr. Hart says:

"Those who best knew him, and are most able to judge of ministerial eminence, will agree that he was, even beyond most evangelical ministers, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof, in all those respects which have been already noticed. For this important work he was eminently qualified by natural endowments, acquired knowledge, and divine grace.

"His instructions, as a Christian teacher, were plain, clear, impressive and entertaining to the attentive hearer, conveying the most essential and practical knowledge. His example confirmed to his hearers the truths and duties which he taught. He was eminently useful to young ministers, and to those preparing for the Christian ministry, by verbal instructions, and by various publications on theological subjects. All his printed works may be read with profit, and especially the System of Divinity, in two volumes, which he published in the latter part of his life.

"We add, that he was the defence and safety to the church by his prayers; in which we have abundant reason to believe he was devout, ardent, and persevering to the last. In these respects, and others not mentioned, he was a pillar in the church below, a man to make up the hedge and stand in the gap.

"While we drop the filial tear in committing his venerable dust to the house of silence, as a common loss to the church on earth, still more oppressive sorrow must pierce the hearts of his family connections and the people of his charge."—

"*Help, Lord, for the godly cease; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.*

"Died, on Tuesday evening, the twentieth instant, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, S. T. D., in the eighty-third year of his age, and for more than thirty three years pastor of the First Congregational Church in this town. He was as blameless in his private character as distinguished by his writings; and was eminently useful in all his relations to the church and to society. His funeral was attended yesterday afternoon, at the meeting-house in which he had ministered, and an instructive and pathetic discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. Dr. Hart, of Preston, from the words: 'My Father! my Father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.'" (2 Kings ii. 12.)*

The remains of this godly man were interred in the burial-place adjoining his meeting-house. They lay near his old pulpit. A horizontal tablet was placed over them, and on it was inscribed the following epitaph: †

IN MEMORY OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

IN NEWPORT:

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

DEC. 20th, A. D. 1803;

IN THE 83d YEAR OF HIS AGE;

WHOSE FAITHFUL ATTENTIONS TO THE DUTIES

OF HIS PASTORAL OFFICE, AND

WHOSE VALUABLE WRITINGS,

WILL RECOMMEND HIS CHARACTER,

WHEN THIS MONUMENT,

ERECTED BY HIS BEREAVED FLOCK,

SHALL, WITH THE PRECIOUS DUST IT COVERS,

CEASE TO BE DISTINGUISHED.

Sect. LV. RE-INTERMENT; MONUMENT AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

Years rolled by, and the two churches over which Dr. Patten and Dr. Hopkins had been stationed as pastors, nobly forgot their

* The newspapers of that day gave only brief notices of the decease. The Independent Chronicle, of Boston, for January 2, 1804, merely announced "In Newport, after a long and tedious illness, which he sustained with great philosophy and Christian fortitude," Rev. S. H., etc., etc.

† The authorship of this epitaph has been ascribed by some to Dr. Patten; by others, to Dr. Channing; by others still, with more probability, to Dr. Caleb J. Tenney.

differences, and were reünited after a separation of more than a century. They erected a new house of worship, and in front of that house now lies gathered the dust of those two pastors who, having been united pleasantly in life, are not divided in death. The remains of Dr. Hopkins were removed to their new resting-place, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1849. They are covered by the same freestone slab which was placed over them nearly a half century before. They repose on one of the most beautiful islands in the country, and the waves and breezes of the neighboring ocean remind us of the free and pure thoughts, with which the peaceful sleeper was once animated. Whoever enters the sanctuary where the descendants of his parishioners worship, now looks upon his grave. How many and what differing classes of men, will pause with interest at that venerable stone. He was a preacher to three distinct races of men; and the friends of the Indian and the African will stop to read his epitaph, and pay a tribute to his comprehensive charity. The admirers of Brainerd, and Whitefield, and Buell, and Bellamy, and the Edwardses, — of Andrew Fuller, John Erskine, John Ryland, — will bend over the ashes of one whom these great men esteemed as a brother or a guide. The historian will linger at the grave of the scholar who, indigent, desponding, solitary, produced a deep impression on clergymen and laymen in our own and the fatherland, and has visibly modified the faith of his opposers even, and has now for a hundred years been raising the popular standard of orthodoxy, and has made a knowledge of his life essential to a correct estimate of the New England faith. The metaphysician will stop to speculate on the powers of him who is seen at one time in the wilderness with an Indian scout, at another time in his study translating a page of Calvin or Van Mastricht, — here conversing with Emmons on baptism, and there with Channing on slavery; — now writing on the final cause of all things to President Davies, then teaching the most recondite doctrines of the gospel to his negro missionaries, and again corresponding with the government of Sierra Leone. The philanthropist will pause to wonder at the man, who went as far in advance of his age in the cause of moral improvement as in the cause of theological science; who anticipated several of the benevolent operations of our own day, and united in an uncommon degree the speculative with the practical tendencies. The humble Christian will forget the prejudices of school and party, and will commend the spirit of the man who made it the great aim of his speculations, and of his life-long discipline, to dethrone self and to exalt Jehovah, and who has associated his very name with the epithet "disinterested."

In the year 1850, a monument was erected to the memory of Dr. Hopkins, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, by the generosity of

Hon. Charles W. Hopkins; the same gentleman who has rendered such liberal aid in publishing the edition of his ancestor's collected works. It is a solid and beautiful structure of Italian marble. It bears the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.,

FOR MANY YEARS PASTOR

OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN THIS PLACE,

AN EMINENT TEACHER OF THEOLOGY;

WIDELY KNOWN BY HIS ABLE WRITINGS.

HE DIED AT NEWPORT, IN RHODE ISLAND,

DECEMBER 20, 1803, AGED 83 YEARS:

AND OF JOANNA, HIS WIFE,

WHO DIED AUGUST 31, 1793, AGED 68 YEARS:

AND OF MOSES HOPKINS, HIS SON,

WHO WAS BORN MARCH 21, 1751;

AND, HAVING FILLED WITH CREDIT

MANY PUBLIC STATIONS,

CLOSED A LIFE OF USEFULNESS AND INTEGRITY

ON THE 9th OF MARCH, 1838:

AND OF ANNA, WIFE OF MOSES HOPKINS,

WHO DIED JULY 22, 1834, AGED 80 YEARS.

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